GLAMORGAN

PAPERS AND NOTES ON THE LORDSHIP AND ITS MEMBERS

JOHN STUART CORBETT

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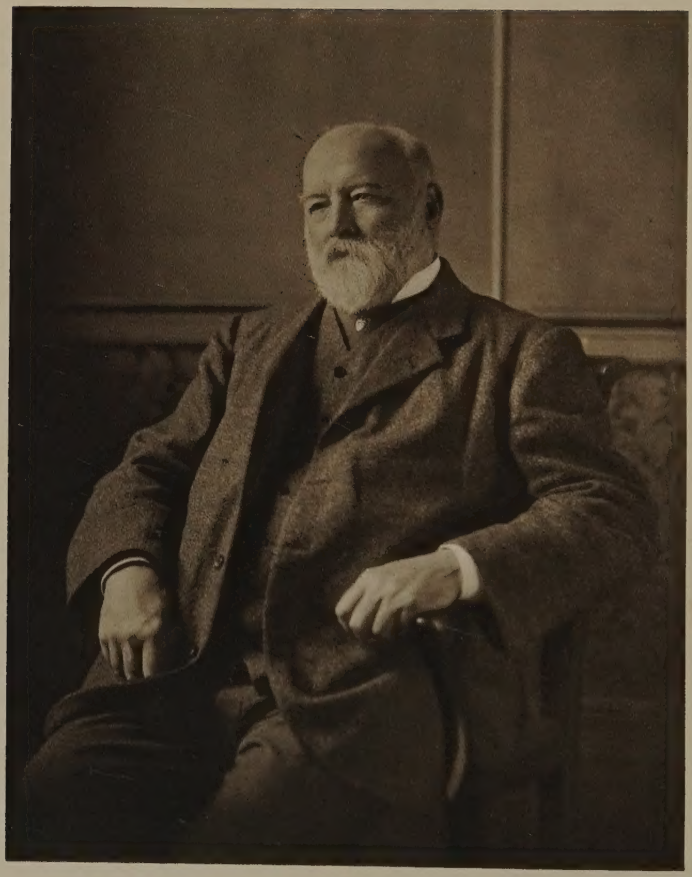
LORDSHIP AND ITS MEMBERS

WILLIAM LEWIS (PRINTERS) LIMITED, CARDIFF.
1925.



John Stuart Corbett

GLAMORGAN

Papers & Notes on the Lordship & its Members

BY

JOHN STUART CORBETT

EDITED BY

D. R. PATERSON, M.D., F.S.A.

WITH A MEMOIR.

FOR
REFERENCE ONLY

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PREFACE.

The increased interest in the study of local history stimulated by the publication in recent years of early records has been reflected in the appearance of a more accurate type of county history, in which much that is uncritical and traditional in the old, has been replaced by authentic data. Students in this field have already accomplished much, and a fresh outlook upon our local institutions and problems has been a fruitful result.

The late Mr. John Stuart Corbett belonged to this group of workers, and but for his modesty, would have been widely known as a recognised authority on the history of his native Glamorgan. He had devoted much of his leisure time to an intimate study of the medieval lordship, more especially of its legal structure and administrative system. By taste and training, as well as by opportunity from professional work, he was well equipped to carry out the patient independent research which he made the ground-work of his studies. Some of his results he had put into the form of short papers, which were read before local societies and published in transactions. Much remained in the shape of notes written mainly to correspondents, who valued highly his unfailing courtesy and ever-ready help.

He had rendered conspicuous service for a number of years to the Cardiff Naturalists' Society by presiding over its Archaeological Section, and it was felt by the Council of the Society that much of the material he had collected deserved perpetuation in a permanent and more convenient form. They have therefore issued this memorial volume in the hope that his work will reach a wider public and serve as a contribution to the history of the county.

The collection deals mainly with matters concerning the lordship and its members, particulars of manorial history, topography, etc. Some of the papers appear for the first time; others are reprinted from various sources. They have been left practically unaltered, even where the author was inclined to modify his views, as he was always ready to do when fresh evidence presented itself. As they were prepared for different audiences at different times, it is inevitable that there should be occasional repetition. This has been allowed to stand so as to preserve the original form. A few notes have been added to clear up some points. The collection does not claim to be complete, for considerations of space have rendered necessary the omission of detailed notes of other manors, family history, genealogy, etc.

Mr. John Ballinger, C.B.E., has greatly helped by contributing a memoir, and acknowledgments are due to Mr. V. E. Nash-Williams, of the National Museum, for compiling the index.

D. R. P.

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Annals of Tewkesbury } 1857.

A Breviat. Rice Lewis, 1596. MS. in possession of the Marquis of Bute. Copy in Cardiff Public Library.

Cartae et alia Munimenta . . . de Glamorgancia. (Cartae.) G. T. Clark. 2nd Edn., 1910.

Extent of Glamorgan, 1262. MS. in Public Record Office.

Limbus Patrum Morganiae et Glamorganiae (Glamorgan Genealogies). G. T. Clark, 1886.

Land of Morgan. G. T. Clark, 1883.

Liber Landavensis. Ed. J. G. Evans, 1893.

Liber Niger of the Exchequer, 1166. Ed. 1774.

Morganiae Archaeographia. Rice Merrick, 1578, ed. J. A. Corbett, 1887. (Extract from Leland's Itinerary, relating to Glamorgan in same edition.)

JOHN STUART CORBETT.

By John Ballinger, C.B.E.

Mr. Corbett was a fine example of those quiet men of marked ability and charm, who pass through life doing such work as falls to their lot with rare efficiency, and occupy themselves with pursuits which increase the sum of knowledge or add to the happiness and well-being of their generation. Like many men of that type his life was uneventful. He never thought that he, as an individual, was of any special importance, his personality never reached the public eye, his contributions to knowledge were made almost in silence, only the very few who came into close relations with him knew what a great mind and generous nature lay behind that shyness which characterised him.

It was my privilege to be admitted to the inner circle soon after he became solicitor to the Bute Estate (1890), in succession to his brother, Mr. James Andrew Corbett, whose untimely death deprived Cardiff of one of its devoted citizens. The two brothers were very much alike in many ways, for James Andrew Corbett also took a keen interest in local history and archaeology, was never satisfied with a mere acceptance of printed or any other source for any statement, but searched out and verified always, and, what is equally important, reconsidered conclusions when fresh evidence became available. It was this scholarly care which makes the edition of Rice Merrick's *Booke of Glamorganshire's Antiquities* (written in 1578), printed in 1887 with an introduction and notes by him, so valuable as a contribution to local history. During

the three years which followed the issue of the book Mr. James Corbett accumulated much additional material on the work itself, and subjects pertinent thereto. These, on his death, passed to his brother, and opened for him a line of study which he pursued to the end of his life. The results are, to some extent at least, represented in this memorial volume.

The Corbetts are an ancient family, settled in Shropshire from the time of the Norman conquest. The story of this ancient family, with much genealogical detail, has recently been published.*

John Stuart Corbett of Cogan Pill was direct in descent from the Corbetts of Moreton Corbett, his grandfather, Captain Andrew Corbett, being 6th in descent from Sir Andrew Corbett, knight, of Moreton Corbett, who died in 1578. Captain Andrew Corbett married Augusta, sister of the first Marquess of Bute, and their only child was Stuart Corbett, Incumbent of Wortley and Archdeacon of York; his fourth son was John Stuart Corbett, who came to Cardiff in 1841 as agent to his relative, the 2nd Marquess of Bute. He lived first in rooms at Rhyd-y-Penna Farm, near Llanishen, and on his marriage with Elizabeth, daughter of James Evans, of the Gorther Co., Radnor, he removed to Maindee (a house near Cardiff, now included in the City boundaries), and later to Cogan Pill when the repairs and alterations to that old house had been completed. It was at Maindee that the eldest son, John Stuart Corbett, was born on 16th May, 1845. He was educated at Cheltenham, and was afterwards articled to Messrs. Daltons and Spencer, of Cardiff, and Messrs. Vizard, Crowder, Anstie and Young, of London, being awarded honours at his final examination in 1867, and admitted a solicitor in the same year. He joined Messrs. Daltons and Spencer as a junior partner, the firm being known as Daltons, Spencer and Corbett for some years, afterwards as Spencer and Corbett. The senior partner was

* The Family of Corbett, its life and times, by A. E. C. 2 volumes. London. The St. Catherine Press, 1915—1919.

Mr. Thomas Dalton, sometime Clerk of the Peace for the County of Glamorgan, and later his nephew, Mr. Thomas Masters Dalton. Mr. Corbett retired from the firm in 1890 when he became Solicitor to Lord Bute. He married in 1872 Blanche, the elder daughter of the Reverend James Williams Evans, Vicar of Costessy, near Norwich, who was the son of the Reverend James Evans, formerly Rector of Llandough, Cogan, and other parishes near Cardiff, the incumbent of which was known locally as "The Angel of the Seven Churches."

Before he became Solicitor to Lord Bute, Mr. Corbett held the appointment of Clerk to the Llandaff bench of magistrates, and devoted his leisure to art, painting chiefly in oils, for which he had a gift, and exhibited from time to time at Norwich and in the annual exhibitions of the South Wales Art Society. In later years he did much work in water colour.

His chief holiday occupation was painting in Norfolk and Wales. These were the happiest times of his life. Reading was a delight to him always. He was devoted to out-door pursuits, gardening especially. He loved his garden, and knew every plant in it, most of them placed there by his own hands. He was fond of shooting, and was an excellent shot, but fishing did not attract him.

For the years 1890 to 1917, when he retired, he was Solicitor for Lord Bute and his great properties, a period covering the last ten years of the life of the third Marquess and seventeen years after the accession of the present Lord Bute, twenty-seven years of loyal and unselfish service.

It has already been said that Mr. Corbett's interest in archaeology and local history was increased when he took up the work left by his brother. Before that time he appears to have appeared in print once only, a note of five pages on *The Fresh Water Aquarium* in the Transactions of the Cardiff Naturalists' Society for 1883. No other printed work of his has been traced earlier than the same society's volume for

1900–1, which contains his address as president of the Archaeological section of the Society. He had, however, taken a keen advisory interest in the preparation of the Cardiff Records. The first volume, which appeared in 1898, contains a valuable local record, the Bailiffs' accounts for Cardiff and Roath, 1642–3, from the Cardiff Castle muniments, for which the editor, Mr. J. Hobson Matthews, expresses his indebtedness to Mr. Corbett.

The succeeding volumes contain numerous evidences showing the help given, and contributions actually written by him. The index gives twenty-eight references under Mr. Corbett's name, but six of them should have been under his father's name. A list of his printed contributions so far as can be ascertained is given in this volume. They deal with several aspects of one subject, the lordship of Glamorgan, of which his knowledge was unrivalled. These contributions show how worthily he carried on the work of his brother and Mr. George Thomas Clark of Talygarn.

The quantity of Mr. Corbett's literary work is not large, but it is all sound and good. If it were possible to set out, even in part, the help he gave to other workers in the same field, the extent of his labours would be more adequately seen. But this is impossible. The amount of time and labour he would cheerfully expend on an inquiry made one reluctant to trespass on his invariable willingness to help. An example of this is the following letter written to me in April, 1919 :—

14*th April*, 1919.

I am much obliged to you for your letter in reply to mine.

I have no doubt now (though I should like to see the document from which the seal came) that the old Cardiff seal was taken from that of Richard (probably, or possibly Gilbert his son) de Clare.

I think a similar origin was that of the fabled arms of Jestyn ap Gwrgan described by Rhys Myryke.

The de Clare chevrons are found on a seal of c. 1138, of a member of that family, one of the earliest instances of arms on a seal, while the descendants of Jestyn, Lords of Avan, sealed with quite different devices (not arms) down to at least the middle of the 13th century. Leisan de Aven, the first to use that surname, who became Lord in 1288, seems to have used the chevrons (Parl. Roll of Edw. II). This was with a difference, gules 3 chevrons argent, instead of or 3 chevrons gules. These arms are still used by families claiming descent from the Avan Lords and ultimately from Jestyn, and this, I think, is why later writers attribute them to him.

This letter contains valuable information relating to the arms formerly used by the civic authorities of Cardiff. It was a subject of deep regret to Mr. Corbett that the Corporation abandoned the historic shield associated with the town for so many centuries, in favour of the florid arms recently adopted, which defy nearly all the usages of heraldry. He once expressed to me a hope that some day the old dignified and historic arms will be brought into use again.

Mr. Corbett died on 9th March, 1921. Of him it may truly be said :—

> He had the wisdom of the just, and the gentle loving heart of a little child.

LIST OF PRINTED CONTRIBUTIONS, Etc., By JOHN STUART CORBETT.

CARDIFF NATURALISTS' SOCIETY TRANSACTIONS.

1883. The fresh water aquarium. Vol. XV, pp. 44–50.
Written with reference to a suggestion that aquaria might be established in the Cardiff Museum.

1900–1. Presidential Address. Archaeological Section. Vol. XXXIII, pp. 20–32.
Deals with the early history of Cardiff mainly as bearing upon the derivation of its name.

1903. Member Lordships of Glamorgan. Vol. XXXVI, pp. 65–91.

1903. Some reasons for believing that Barry and Sully gave names to their Lords' Families rather than the Lords to the places. Vol. XXXVI, pp. 116–7.

1905. The Exploration at Castell Morgraig—Historical data. Vol. XXXVIII, pp. 44–58.
Reprinted Cardiff, 1906, in Castell Morgraig in the County of Glamorgan, by John Ward, J. W. Rodger and John Stuart Corbett.

1906. Some notes as to Llantwit Major. Vol. XXXIX, pp. 49–62.

1907. The Castell fields at Craig Llwyn, Lisvane, Glam. Vol. XL, pp. 30–3.
Notes sent by J.S.C. to Edwin Seward, and included in the above article.

1909. Dinaspowys. Vol. XLII, pp. 70–82.

1912. A fifteenth century Coroner's Account for Glamorgan. Vol. XLV, pp. 70–86.
Read before the Archaeological Section, Nov. 3rd, 1911.

1917. Castell Coch. Vol. L, pp. 20–23.

ARCHAEOLOGIA CAMBRENSIS.

1901. Llantrisant Castle. 6th ser. Vol. I, pp. 1–7.

1901. The Van. 6th ser. Vol. I, pp. 8–11.

1901. Castell-y-Mynach. 6th ser. Vol. I, pp. 12–13.

1919. Caerphilly: Minister's Account, 1428–9. 6th ser. Vol. XIX, pp. 19–24.

BRISTOL AND GLOUCESTER ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY TRANSACTIONS.

1908. Caerphilly Castle. Vol. XXXI, pp. 261–9.

1908. Some notes on St. John's Church, Cardiff.

CARDIFF RECORDS.

1901. Survey of Llystalybont, 1653. Vol. III, pp. 298–335. Copied in 1895 from the original in the Record Room at Cardiff Castle.

1905. Notes on Map of the Manors. Vol. V, pp. 479–81.

1911. Arms of Principal Glamorgan families. Vol. VI, pp. lxxv–lxxviii.

1911. Explanation of shields of arms forming head-pieces. Vol. VI, pp. lxxix–lxxxii.

BRITISH ASSOCIATION.

1920. The Lordship of Glamorgan. Handbook of Cardiff Meeting, pp. 22–53.

CHAPTER I.

THE LORDSHIP OF GLAMORGAN.

The following notes are intended to deal mainly with certain matters relating to that part of the old Welsh Kingdom of Morganwg which after the Conquest became the Lordship of Glamorgan, of which Cardiff was the head, and to give some information, necessarily of a general character, as to the government of that district up to the date of the Statute 27 Hen. VIII, cap. 26, which abolished most of the peculiar privileges of the marcher lords and introduced the English law and system of government. I do not deal with Wenllwch or Wentloog, now part of Monmouthshire, which (or a large part of it) formed part of the marcher lordship won by Fitzhamon, and remained so until the failure of the main line of the de Clares in 1314. To do so would unduly extend this article, and besides, it was treated in the de Clare's time as a separate "county."

PRE-NORMAN PERIOD.

As to the region to which this paper relates, the period from the end of the Roman occupation to the conquest by Fitzhamon is a very dark one, there being hardly any trustworthy authorities for its history. The *Brut y Tywysogion* and *Annales Cambriae* contain but very few and short references to this part of Wales. The so-called "Gwentian Brut" or *Book of Aberpergwm*, claiming to be, as to its earlier portion, the work of Caradoc of Llancarvan (who is believed to have died about 1147), and the *Historia Cambriae* of Dr. David Powell (1584), purporting to give Caradoc's history, contain much relating to Glamorgan, but both must unfortunately

be regarded as of very doubtful authority. The original of any MS. of Caradoc does not exist, and it seems only to be known from Dr. Powell's work. The *Gwentian Brut,* as it exists, is probably not older than the 16th century,* and though no doubt to some extent founded upon older authorities, and perhaps in part upon Caradoc, it contains so much obvious fiction that, unless otherwise corroborated, its statements cannot at all be relied upon. The earlier part of the *Liber Landavensis* appears to the writer to deserve more attention than it has received, as it was actually written in the 12th or very early in the 13th century, much of it probably in the first half of the 12th. Its authority has been depreciated (see Haddan and Stubbs "Councils, etc.") on the ground that the copies or records of charters and other documents of which it consists were put together, and perhaps to some extent altered or even fabricated, for the purpose of supporting the claim of Bishop Urban (1107–1133) to parts of the dioceses of St. David's and Hereford. That this objection has some force can hardly be doubted, but, though it may be granted that the earlier records cannot safely be accepted as actual copies of documents of the dates to which they purport to relate, they show at least what was thought by a writer of the 12th century as to the succession of rulers of the district, and the statements as to facts of the 11th century, modern history at the time it was written, would probably be fairly accurate.

It will be convenient, before going further, to refer to what the *Liber Landavensis* says as to the cantrevs contained, as it states, in the Kingdom of Morgannuc (Morganwg) and Diocese of Llandaff. The document occurs at page 247, and is said to be inserted because the original was almost decayed from its great age. The first Cantrev was Bican=Bachan (Carmarthenshire) —the second cantrev Gwyr (Gower, now the part of Glamorganshire as constituted under Henry VIII, west of the River Neath),

* It is now assigned by some Welsh scholars to late 18th century.

Caedweli (Kidwelly), and Carnwaliaun, both in Carmarthenshire. These last three, in the *Red Book of Hergest*, are treated as names of commotes making up a cantrev called Eginoc. The third cantrev was Wurhinit (Gorwenydd, now Groneath, Glamorganshire), the fourth, Penychen (Glamorganshire), the fifth, Gunlyuch and Edelyvon (in Monmouthshire, the first name, Gwynllwg or Wentloog, and the second, Hedelegan or Edlogan, now a manor in Gwynllwg). This last cantrev is between the Rhymney and Usk rivers. The sixth cantrev was Wenyscoyt (Gwent Iscoed or Underwood, the southern part of the land between the Usk and the Wye). The seventh was Wenthuccoyt (Gwent Uwchcoed or Overwood) and Ystradw (Brecknockshire) and Ewyas, always, it states, called the two sleeves of Wenthuccoyt, and Ergyn and Anergyn (Archenfeld, Herefordshire). This represents the Llandaff claim, not successful, as the diocese was ultimately settled to include only the Glamorgan territory east of Neath, what is now Monmouthshire, and one or two parishes in Herefordshire.

Whether or not the Kingdom of Morganwg at any time in fact included all these lands, the list is probably the oldest authority for the names of the cantrevs, and as such of value. It may be mentioned here that Giraldus Cambrensis, taking St. David's view, describes the diocese of Llandaff as containing five cantrevs "and the fourth part of a cantrev, that is, Senghenydd." No doubt he meant to exclude the Carmarthenshire and Gower territory. Some authorities, the most important being the old list of cantrevs and commotes contained in the *Red Book of Hergest* (14th century), have mentioned another cantrev in Glamorgan called Brenhinol (Royal) or Breiniol (privileged); in the *Red Book* the form is Breinyawl. This, however, may be an error, possibly through attributing to a cantrev the epithet Breinol, which, according to Rice Merrick, p. 119, applied in fact, not to a cantrev, but to the commote of Kibbor, formerly considered part of Senghenydd. This Senghenydd district, called by

Giraldus the fourth part of a cantrev, would, according to the *Liber Landavensis* list, be included either in Penychen or Gwynllwg. It lies in the eastern part of Glamorganshire, mainly between the Rhymney and Taff Rivers, but may perhaps at some remote period have been considered part of Wenllwch. From *Liber Landavensis* and the other authorities mentioned, supported in some points by certain statements of Asser, and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, it appears clear that the territory, which included the later Lordship of Glamorgan was, for some five centuries before the conquest, ruled by a line of princes descended from one Tewdric slain in battle with the Saxons at a date perhaps not far from the year 600, and a contemporary of St. Teilo, after whom Llandaff Cathedral was named. These rulers are described at different times as Kings of Morganwg, Glamorgan, Gleuissicg, or Gwent. These differences of description are perhaps due in part to the practice which often appears to have been followed of dividing a kingdom between sons of a deceased king. What exactly Gleuissicg meant is difficult to determine, but no doubt it included part at least of Glamorgan. It is suggested that it may possibly be an old name for Morganwg. Among the princes who sought the protection and friendship of Alfred Asser mentions *Houil filius Ris rex Gleuising* and also *Brochmail et Fernail filii Mourici reges Gwent.* Now Howel son of Rhys was a King of Morganwg, and in that character, according to *Liber Landavensis*, made various grants to Llandaff. Brochmail and Fernuail were members of the same family. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle states that Alfred's grandson Athelstan ruled over "Uwen King of the Gwentian people." Howel son of Rhys had a son Owen, who may be the person referred to, though here called King of the Gwentian people. Gwent, as appears above, consisted substantially of that part of the present Monmouthshire east of Usk. As to the names Morganwg (Morcanhuc, Morcannuc, etc., in *Liber Landavensis*) and Glamorgan (Gulatmorcant), there seems to be a consensus of opinion that the former had

a wider signification than the latter, though the names appear to mean much the same, " wg " being a suffix indicating a territory or district and " gwlad ", from which the first syllable of Glamorgan comes, practically the same. An opinion has been held in some quarters that Glamorgan comes from " Glanmorgan ", meaning " along the coast ", but the fact that " Gulat morcant " appears in *Liber Landavensis* in a document of the time of Bishop Joseph (early 11th century) supports the view that it means " Land of Morgan " from an early King of that name.

Space does not admit of saying more here as to the Welsh rulers of the district which includes Glamorgan, but it seems that (probably with some variations from time to time as to boundaries) their line ruled in practical independence of the princes of the rest of Wales until the 11th century, when a period of great confusion arose. It is stated in the *Brut y Tywysogion* that in 1021 Rhydderch son of Jestyn (not of the old Glamorgan line, but a descendant of Rhodri Mawr) assumed the government of the south, i.e., Deheubarth, or South Wales. The *Liber Landavensis* (no doubt with exaggeration) describes him as reigning over nearly all Wales, and Howel of Glamorgan as " sub-regulus ". Howel was of the old line of Glamorgan or Morganwg kings. Rhydderch was slain in battle in or about 1031. Much fighting took place between rival chieftains, and in the *Brut y Tywysogion*, under 1047, it is stated that " all South Wales lay waste," though this may not have included Glamorgan, as the word is " Deheubarth " in the original. During his wars with the Welsh, Harold occupied Gwent, and built a hunting lodge in Gwent Iscoed, which was destroyed by King Caradoc, who seems to have been a grandson of Rhydderch. Then followed the Norman Conquest of England, the appointment of William Fitz Osbern as Earl of Hereford, the building by him of Chepstow or Striguil Castle, and gradual encroachments of Welsh territory. It is clear that at the time of *Domesday Book* the

Norman rule or overlordship extended as far as the River Usk and to some extent west of it, for a certain Turstin Fitz Rolf held some lands west of the Usk. The Welsh, however, were not completely expelled, and it appears that for a time at least Welsh kings, so called in *Liber Landavensis*, ruled over at least parts of Gwent, no doubt in a tributary or vassal condition, and probably at times co-operated with the Normans against other Welshmen. For instance, the *Brut y Tywysogion*, under 1070, says that Maredudd son of Owain was killed by Caradoc son of Gruffudd and the French (Normans) on the banks of the Rhymney, the river forming the eastern boundary of Glamorgan. In the *Liber Landavensis* (pp. 278–279) there is a statement that in the time of King William, Catgucuan (Cadwgan) son of King Mouric (who was son of the Howel before referred to) reigned in Glamorgan, and as far as the Towey (in Carmarthenshire), Caradoc in Ystratyu (Brecknockshire), Gwent Uwchcoed and Wenllwch, Riderch (Rhydderch) in Ewyas and Gwent Iscoed. This was no doubt the chronicler's statement as to what happened at some time during which things were in confusion and frequently changing. Most or all of the Kings named were no doubt more or less under the domination of the Normans. In fact, it is said that all these Kings were under ("servierunt") King William, and died in his time. Caradoc was probably the same that was with the Normans in the fight on the banks of the Rhymney, but whether he was the same as the King Caradoc who, many years before, had destroyed Harold's hunting lodge is a matter on which different opinions are held. Rhydderch was a grandson of the Rhydderch slain in 1031. Cadwgan, as we have seen, was of the old line of Kings of Morganwg, but whether his rule in fact extended to the banks of the Towy is doubtful, and when he died is not known.

JESTYN AP GWRGAN.

Later Jestyn ap Gwrgan appears as ruler (who is nowhere called King) of Glamorgan. Over what exact territory his authority extended cannot now be defined. He and his father Gwrgan are both mentioned in *Liber Landavensis*, the latter (p. 263) as a witness to a document of the time of King Mouric, son of Howel. Gwrgan and Jestyn are both mentioned in the *Gwentian Brut* as princes of Glamorgan, but the account given of them there is full of absurd and obvious errors, and cannot be regarded as in any way trustworthy. Still, there is no reason to doubt, though it cannot be said to be actually proved by any pedigree that can be fully trusted, that they were descended from the old line of Kings, and it seems probable that Jestyn assumed power on, or soon after, the death of Cadwgan, son of Mouric.

FITZHAMON'S CONQUEST.

In Jestyn's time, as is well known, the conquest by Robert FitzHamon took place. The legend so often repeated of his having called in FitzHamon to aid him against Rhys ap Tewdwr is more doubtful. In fact, it seems quite possible that FitzHamon's invasion does not represent the first Norman attempt upon Glamorgan. What the state of things was there at the time when King William made his pilgrimage to St. David's (in 1079 according to the *Brut y Tywysogion*, but more probably in 1080) is not known. *The Brut*, under date 1080, states that the building of Cardiff began. *The Annals of Margam* also has, under 1081, " et edificata est villa Cardiviae sub Willelmo primo rege." These statements no doubt point to the restoration of a fortress which had been desolated after Roman times, though as to when or by whom nothing is known. What this building or re-building may have led to or what FitzHamon found at Cardiff on his arrival is

at present uncertain. It was not until some twelve years after the dates mentioned as those of the alleged building that he defeated and expelled Jestyn. He had shortly before received from William Rufus the Honour of Gloucester, of which Bristol was the head, probably as a reward for his support against Bishop Odo and his confederates in 1088, and very likely with the intention that he should endeavour to conquer Glamorgan. As to the legend of his having fought with Rhys ap Tewdwr on the borders of Brecknockshire, it may be mentioned that *The Brut* and *Annales Cambriae* say that Rhys was slain in 1091 by the French of Brecheiniauc, which seems much more probable than that FitzHamon should have penetrated so far into the hill country.

In Cardiff, FitzHamon no doubt established himself from the first, and made it the head of his Glamorgan lordship, but this does not prove that he found any town there. It may have commended itself to him on account of the remains of the Roman fortifications, and also as a favourable place for communication by sea with Bristol. The place is not even named in any *Liber Landavensis* document prior to the conquest. As to the state of things in the district generally, there are no towns, castles, churches, or works remaining which can be pointed to with any certainty as Welsh, and dating from the interval between the departure of the Romans and FitzHamon's conquest. This is no doubt due to the fact that the Welsh buildings were mostly of wood, for they certainly had many churches, besides their three important monasteries (possibly much decayed at the date of the conquest) at Llantwit, Llancarvan and Llandough. It is true no doubt that some of their churches were of stone, but these, like Llandaff Cathedral, were rebuilt later, so that nothing seems to remain of early Welsh work, except indeed certain crosses or inscribed stones at Llantwit, Llandough, etc. It is to be supposed that the people lived mainly under the tribal system, described by Mr. Seebohm in his *Tribal System*

in Wales, and the late Sir John Rhys and Sir D. Brynmor Jones in their valuable work *The Welsh People*. It is, however, likely that in the Vale district the tribal rules of descent may have given way to some extent even before FitzHamon's time, and the people have become more settled and more dependent upon agriculture than in the hills and wilder parts.

Another matter which has not been fully investigated is the question whether along the coast there may not have been settlements of Scandinavian, or at any rate other than Welsh people. All along the coast there are place-names of Scandinavian origin, and many English names, though, as to the latter, it is difficult to be sure whether they are earlier than the conquest, as no doubt many English came in afterwards. It seems certain that the Vale was subdued in a comparatively short time, and that the population settled down into the condition of manorial tenants under their Norman lords, for such disturbances as took place usually arose from incursions of Welshmen from the hills of Glamorgan or other parts of Wales rather than from local risings in the Vale. Though no doubt a good many Welsh chieftains were displaced, it may well be that to the actual tillers of the soil it made little difference whether they cultivated land for, or paid their dues to, a Welsh or a Norman chief or lord.

THE CHIEF LORDS.

Having reached the period of FitzHamon's conquest, it will be convenient to insert short particulars as to his successors down to the abolition of the marcher privileges and the application of English law, by the statue of Henry VIII.

The facts are briefly as follows :—

1107. Robert FitzHamon died.

Mabel, his daughter, married at a date not exactly ascertained Robert, a natural son of Henry I, created Earl of Gloucester and commonly known as Robert Consul (Earl).

1147. Robert Consul died. The Countess Mabel died 1157. Their son William, Earl of Gloucester, succeeded his father. He married Hawise, daughter of Robert de Bellmont (called Bossu or Crouchback) Earl of Lincoln.

1183. (23rd November.) Earl William died. His Countess survived and died 24th day of April, 1197.

Earl William had four children, Robert (who died young), Mabel, who married Almeric de Montfort, Earl of Evreux, Amicia, who married Richard de Clare, Earl of Hertford, and Isabel, who married John, Earl of Mortain, afterwards King.

After the death of Earl William the Lordship remained in the hands of the Crown until, in 1189, King Richard I made it over to his brother John, no interest in Glamorgan being allowed to Isabel's sisters.

John succeeded to the throne in 1199, and divorced Isabel in 1200, but retained the Lordship of Glamorgan until her re-marriage in 1214 to Geoffrey de Mandeville, Earl of Essex, who had it in her right.

1216. Geoffrey de Mandeville died.

1217. (Before October.) Isabel died childless. It is said by some writers that after the death of de Mandeville Isabel married Hubert de Burgh, but the better opinion appears to be that this was not so. Her lands were committed to him, but probably as custodian only.

1218. Gilbert de Clare, son of Isabel's sister Amicia, succeeded. He was Earl of Gloucester and Hertford. He married Isabel, daughter of William Marshal, Earl of Pembroke, who, after de Clare's death, married Richard, Earl of Cornwall, second son of King John.

1230. (25th October.) Earl Gilbert died in Brittany. His son, Richard de Clare, Earl of Gloucester and Hertford, succeeded. Born 4th August, 1222. Married Maud de Lacy, daughter of the Earl of Lincoln. On the failure of the male

line of the Marshals, through his mother as one of the co-heirs, Richard obtained, upon a partition of the Marshal estates, considerable holdings in (amongst other places) what is now Monmouthshire. Through this and under certain subsequent arrangements, the de Clares had Usk, Caerleon, Trellech, and other lands.

1262. (July.) Richard de Clare died. The Countess survived him and died about 1289.

Gilbert, son of Richard, succeeded. Called " the Red Earl." He was born 2nd September, 1243. Builder of Caerphilly Castle. Married first, Alice de la Marche. He divorced her, and in 1290 married Joan, daughter of King Edward I.

1295. (7th December.) Gilbert de Clare died.

The Countess Joan succeeded for her life, in accordance with an arrangement made on their marriage, and in 1296 married Ralph de Monthermer, who during her lifetime, her son being a minor, sat in Parliament as Earl of Gloucester.

1306–7. (March.) The Countess Joan died.

Gilbert de Clare, the third of the name to hold the lordship of Glamorgan, son of Gilbert (2) and the Countess Joan, succeeded, Monthermer then ceasing to be styled Earl. Gilbert was born 1291, and married Maud, daughter of John, son of Richard de Burgh, Earl of Ulster.

1314. (June.) Gilbert de Clare (3) was killed at Bannockburn, and the Countess Maud died 1315. They had one son, John, who died an infant in his parents' lifetime. With Gilbert (3) ended the male line of the de Clares, who had held the lordship from 1218 to 1314.

He left three sisters, daughters of Gilbert (2) and the Countess Joan. (1) Eleanor, of whom below. (2) Margaret, who married (first) Piers Gaveston, (second) Hugh d'Audley. (3) Elizabeth, married (first) John son of John de Burgh, Earl of Ulster, (second) Theobald Verdon, and (third) Roger d'Amory.

1317. A partition of the de Clare estates between the sisters was completed. Glamorgan fell to Eleanor, the eldest, who had married in 1306 Hugh le Despenser, son of Hugh, Earl of Winchester. Newport and Wenllwch, amongst other estates, were allotted to Margaret, and Usk, Caerleon, and other manors, etc., in what is now Monmouthshire, to Elizabeth.

Hugh le Despenser became Lord of Glamorgan in right of his wife Eleanor. He was the first lord who described himself in documents as "Lord of Glamorgan and Morgan," his predecessors having used the style "Earl of Gloucester and Hertford." He himself was not an earl. He had two sons, Hugh and Edward.

1326. (18th November.) Hugh le Despenser was put to death at Hereford.

1328. William la Zouche married Eleanor, widow of Hugh, and, after some difficulties on account of the marriage having taken place without the King's consent, became Lord of Glamorgan in her right.

1336–7. (1st March.) William la Zouche died.

1337. (30th June.) Eleanor died.

Hugh le Despenser (2), son of Hugh and Eleanor, succeeded. He was born probably in 1308, and married Elizabeth de Montacute, widow of Giles Lord Badlesmere.

1349. (8th February.) Hugh le Despenser died without issue. Edward le Despenser, nephew of Hugh, son of his brother Edward, who died before Hugh, succeeded.

He married Elizabeth, daughter of Lord Burghersh.

1375. (11th November.) Edward le Despenser died, his widow surviving. Thomas le Despenser, son of Edward, born 22nd September, 1373, succeeded. He married Constance, daughter of Edmund of Langley, Duke of York, who survived him, and died 1417. They had two children,

Richard and Isabel. Thomas le Despenser was created Earl of Gloucester in 1397, but afterwards deprived of this title for conspiring against Henry IV.

1400. (January.) Thomas le Despenser, after taking part in an abortive rising, fled to Bristol, where he was beheaded by a mob without trial.

Richard le Despenser, son of Thomas, died 13th October, 1414, while a ward of the King.

Isabel la Despenser, sister of Richard, succeeded. She was born after her father's death, 24th July, 1400, and married (first) 27th July, 1411, Richard Beauchamp, fourth Earl of Worcester. The Earl of Worcester having died in France in March or April, 1422, Isabel married (second) 26th November, 1423, Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, a cousin of her first husband. They had two children, Henry and Anne.

1439. (30th April.) Richard, Earl of Warwick, died at Rouen, and Isabel died 26th December of the same year.

Henry Beauchamp, their son, succeeded. Born 22nd March, 1425. Married Cecilia, daughter of Richard, Earl of Salisbury. Her brother, Richard Neville, married Henry Beauchamp's sister Anne. Henry was created Duke of Warwick, 5th April, 1444.

1446. Henry, Duke of Warwick, died, leaving an infant daughter, Anne Beauchamp.

1449. Anne, the infant daughter of the Duke of Warwick, died. Anne Beauchamp, sister of Duke Henry, succeeded her niece. She married, as above mentioned, Richard Neville, who became Earl of Salisbury and Warwick, who held the Lordship of Glamorgan in her right.

1471. (14th April.) The Earl of Warwick slain at the battle of Barnet.

The Earl of Warwick left two daughters, Isabel, who married George, Duke of Clarence, at Calais, 11th July, 1469, and Anne, who married (first) Edward, Prince of Wales, son of

Henry VI, and (second) in 1472 Richard, Duke of Gloucester, afterwards Richard III. On the death of the Earl of Warwick, the Duke of Clarence (ignoring the rights of his mother-in-law) entered upon the Lordship of Glamorgan. His brother, Richard, on his marriage with Anne, demanded a share of the Warwick Estates, and an Act of Parliament was passed in 1474 to the effect that the Dukes of Clarence and Gloucester and the wives should have the estates as if the Countess of Warwick were dead, and might make partition of them.

1478. (11th March.) The Duke of Clarence was put to death. The Duchess Isabel had died 22nd December, 1476.

Either on the death of the Duke of Clarence or somewhat earlier, Richard, Duke of Gloucester, became lord, and later became King.

1485. (22nd August.) Richard was slain at Bosworth. His wife Anne had died previously.

Henry VII succeeded to the Crown, and on 2nd March, 1486, granted the Lordship of Glamorgan to his uncle, Jasper Tudor, Duke of Bedford. However, Anne, Countess of Warwick, widow of "the Kingmaker," who was still living, had been *de jure* the person entitled to the Lordship since 1471 but for the Act of Parliament before referred to, and it appears to have been desired to recognise her right while securing the Duke of Bedford's title. She accordingly petitioned Parliament in 1487 to repeal the Act which gave her estates to her daughters and their husbands, and this was done. She then, by deed of 13th December, 1487, in consideration of an annuity granted the Lordship of Glamorgan, etc., to the King. By letters patent of 21st March, 1488, he again granted it to the Duke of Bedford.

1495. (21st December.) Jasper, Duke of Bedford, died childless. King Henry VII then held the lordship until his death. (There had been an Act of Parliament of 1496 that the possessions of the Duke of Bedford should go to Henry,

second son of the King, but practically the King had control, his son being a minor.)

1509. (21st April.) Henry VII died.

Henry VIII succeeded. Up to the time of the Act about to be mentioned, he was styled in documents relating to Glamorgan " King of England and Lord of Glamorgan ", and had a Chancery at Cardiff, etc., as had been the case under the earlier lords. The Statute of 27 Hen. VIII, cap. 26, for assimilating the laws and government of Wales and the Marches to those of England, which is further referred to later, appears practically to have put an end to the old Lordship of Glamorgan, abolishing the peculiar marcher jurisdictions and *jura regalia*, while preserving the various lords' feudal rights with respect to lordships, boroughs, and manors held under them.

THE KNIGHT'S FEES.

To return to FitzHamon, there is no doubt that he divided the greater part of the Vale district amongst his followers, but we have but a very little real evidence as to the arrangements made by him, for clearly the particulars given in the *Gwentian Brut* and Dr. Powell's history as to his twelve knights and their holdings are very far from accurate. Some of the names there given are doubtless those of followers of FitzHamon, but others are those of families who did not appear in the county for long afterwards, while others, who probably were in fact among the earliest comers, are omitted altogether. It is not until the *Liber Niger*, 1166, that we have, in the carta or return of knight's fees held under William, Earl of Gloucester, grandson of FitzHamon, any authentic record as to the holders of manors in Glamorgan, and as they (or their predecessors) had for the most part held their fees from the time of Henry I it is probable that they, or many of them, were descendants of the original conquerors. It is true that the late Mr. Clark (*Land of Morgan*, p. 56) expresses the

opinion that the return of the Earl of Gloucester did not include his Glamorgan fees, but his attention had doubtless not been called to the evidence afforded by a comparison of the *Liber Niger* with an *Extent of Glamorgan* (in the Public Record Office), which was certainly made in or about 1262, and in all probability on the occasion of the death of Richard de Clare, in that year. While the *Liber Niger* gives the names of holders and the number of fees held by each, it does not state where the fees were situate, but the *Extent of* 1262 (as it is convenient to term it) does give this information, and it is the case that in that *Extent* many families of the same names as occur in the *Liber Niger* are recorded as holding in Glamorgan the same number of fees as are stated in *Liber Niger* to have been held by persons of those names. In 1262 the number of old fees, apart from some of the holders who are described as "noviter feoffati," is $36\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{1}{4}$, paying wardsilver or castle guard silver to Cardiff Castle at the rate of 6s. 8d. per fee. This payment was not made by the "noviter feoffati."

The following is a comparison of the *Extent* of 1262 with *Liber Niger* :—

LIBER NIGER.

Name	No. of Fees	Place
Adam de Sumeri	7	Held 3½ fees elsewhere than in Glamorgan.
Milo de Cogan	2	
Robertus de Constantino ..	1	
Jordanus Sorus	15	14 of these in Gloucestershire.
Gilbertus de Umfravill ..	9	5 fees in Devonshire.
Willelmus de Cardi ..	½	
Willelmus de Nerbertone ..	4	
Filius Ricardi Walensis ..	1	
Defeodo quod fuit Roberti Norensis	2	
Roger de Wintonia ..	1	
Lucas Pincerna Regis ..	1	
Willelmus de Londonia ..		
	47¼	
Deduct from these as not being in Glamorganshire :		
De Someri .. 3½		
Le Soor .. 14		
Umfravile .. 5		
—	22½	
The total identified in Glamorgan is	25	

EXTENT 1262.

Name.	Place.	No. of Fees
Robertus de Someri ..	Dinas Powis	3½
Johannes de Cogan ..	Cogan	2
Heres Gilberti de Costantin	Costantinestun (Cosmeston) ..	
Walterus de Sulye ..	Suyle	2
	Wenvoe	2
Walterus de Gloucestria ..	Wrencheston (Wrinston) ..	½
Willielmus le Soor	In Sancto Fagano	1
Willielmus Corbet	In Sancto Nicholao	3
Gilbertus Umfravile ..	Penmarc	4
Willielmus de Kayrdif ..	Llanrid (Llantrithyd) ..	½
Phillippus de Nereberd ..	Aberthawe (St. Tathan) ..	4
Adam Walensis	Landochhe (Llandough, near Cowbridge)	1
Johannes le Norreis ..	Penthlin (Penllyn)	2
Willielmus de Wincestre ..	Landau (Llandow)	1
Walterus de Sulye	Lanmais	⅔
Heres Gilberti de Costantin	Lanmais	⅓
Thomas de Haweye ..	In Sancto Donato	1
Quod heres Ricardi le Butiler tenere debet	Marcros..	1
Hawisia de Londino ..	Uggemor (Ogmore)	4
Daniel Siward	Merthyr Mawr	1
Adam de Pireton	Nova Villa (Newton Nottage)	¼
Abbas de Morgan (Margam)	Langewy	1
		36½ & ¼
Deduct total in Glamorgan	identified in *Liber Niger* ..	25
There remain in *Extent* of *Niger*	1262 but not identified in *Liber*	11½ & ¼

N.B.—The wardsilver at 6s. 8d. for each fee amounted to £12 5s. 0d., and this remained the same, and was paid in respect of the same fees throughout mediaeval times, with some small exceptions easily accounted for.

These 11½ and ¼ fees in *Extent* of 1262, but not identified in *Liber Niger*, are made up thus (the names being those in the *Extent* of 1262).

Sully	4
Corbet, St. Nicholas	3
Llanmaes	1
De Haweye, St. Donats	1
De Gloucestria, Wrencheston	½
De Pireton, Newton	¼
Siward, Merthyr Mawr	1
Abbot of Margam, Langewy	1

On this list of fees and holders appearing in the *Extent* of 1262 but not in the *Liber Niger*, the following observations may be made.

The de Sully holding probably is in fact in *Liber Niger*, but in some other name. The family surname of de Sully may not have become fixed at that date. The statement that Sully was held as two fees seems to be an error in the original. Other inquisitions, etc., make the de Sullys hold one fee in Sully, one in Coychurch, and two in Wenvoe. The fee in Coychurch seems ultimately to have gone to the Turbervills, with whom there was controversy about it in the time of King John. Though this matter is one of some difficulty, it is clear that Sully was one fee, not two.

As to St. Nicholas, which William Corbet is said in the *Extent* to have held as three fees, it is there added " et tenentur in feodo de eo," so that he had evidently parted with the whole by way of sub-infeudation. It does not appear that a Corbet was at any time a resident landowner. Who, at the time of *Liber Niger*, held the St. Nicholas fees has not been ascertained.

The same is the case as to the one fee of Llanmaes held in 1262, two-thirds by de Sully and one-third by Constantin.

WEST GLAMORGAN COUNTY LIBRARY

As to St. Donats, held by De Haweye in 1262, it may perhaps not have been granted at the date of *Liber Niger* or, if granted, was then in some other name.

The same remark applies to Merthyrmawr and Wrencheston. Newton Nottage was granted to a Sanford by William, Earl of Gloucester, after *Liber Niger*, it would seem.

Langewy or Llangewydd was in the late 12th century held by the Scurlags, who made it over to Margam Abbey. It affords the only instance in Glamorgan of a Knight's fee being held by an Abbey. Isabel, Countess of Gloucester (d. 1217), remitted all services except the payment of wardsilver. The name Scurlag does not appear in *Liber Niger*, so it may be that the grant of Llangewydd to them was subsequent to it.

The *Extent* next states that Gilber Turbevill held the Honour of Coutif (Coyty) by serjeanty of hunting. Also that Elias Basset held ½ fee in St. Hilary, and Philippus de Nereberd ½ fee in Llancovian (Llanquian). As to these two last there is some difficulty, taking this *Extent* alone, as, while they did not pay wardsilver, they are not reckoned among the "noviter feoffati". The explanation appears to be that they were originally held, not of the Castle of Cardiff, but of the Lordship of Llanbleiddian. This appears probable from later documents.

The *Extent*, then, under the head "noviter feoffati," gives the following:—

Fulco de Santford, Lecwichehe (=Leckwith)	¼
Henricus de Sulye, Pentirech (=Pentyrch)	¼
Willelmus Scurlag, Llanharry	¼
Gilbertus Turbervill (Newcastle)	$\frac{1}{10}$
Rogerus de Clifford, Kenefeic (=Kenfig) ..	½
Willelmus Mayloc, In capella (meaning Llystalybont)	½

Then as to Welsh holders :—

Morganus Vochan (Vachan) ..	Half a cummod in Bagelan "per Walescariam" and does no service except a heriot of a horse and arms at death.
Duo filii Morgani ab Cadewalthan (Cadwallon)	Half a cummod in Glinrotheni (Glynrhondda).
Griffad ab Rees	Two cummods in Seingeniht (Senghenydd).
Morediht (Meredith) ab Griffid	One cummod in Machhein (Machen). All as above, *i.e.*, no service except a heriot.

It is difficult to explain why Machen should be included, not being a member of Glamorgan, but of Wenllwch.

There are many Sub-manors, held by sub-infeudation under certain of the lords of the manors referred to, but it is impossible, in the space available, to enter into particulars of these.

Enough has been said to show that in FitzHamon's time, or very shortly after, nearly the whole vale country of Glamorgan was divided into knight's fees, which were in fact manors of the same kind as those in England, as later inquisitions and ministers' accounts show. FitzHamon retained in his own possession the important Manor of Llantwit, usually called Boverton and Llantwit, which always remained in the hands of the Chief Lord, and also some lands near Cardiff, the full history of which would occupy too much space. He is also said to have founded Kenfig. It has been stated by some writers that he held Cowbridge and Llantrisant, but this seems very doubtful. It is more probable that the St. Quintins of Llanbleddian held Cowbridge, and that Llantrisant was built and the borough founded by Richard de Clare.

CHURCH LANDS.

FitzHamon dealt with the estates of the Welsh monasteries by conferring upon English Abbeys the lands of Llantwit, Llancarfan, and Llandough, those of Llantwit and Llandough being given to Tewkesbury, and those of Llancarfan, or the greater part of them, to St. Peter's, Gloucester. These Welsh monasteries were no doubt very ancient foundations, the history of which cannot be discussed here, but, according to the chroniclers, they had been devastated on various occasions, particularly by "the pagans" in 987 (*Brut y Tywysogion*), and it may well be that FitzHamon found them in a decayed state, and not, in his view, fulfilling any useful purpose. He also gave to Tewkesbury a church and lands at Cardiff. Probably he may have built the church or enabled the monks to do so, and he and his followers made them large grants of tithes at the expense of the Welsh clergy. With regard to Llantwit and Llancarfan, it seems possible that they had lost portions of their property before the conquest, for, if the accounts of the colleges at those places given by early tradition are anything like accurate, those institutions must at one time have had much larger possessions than were conferred upon the English Abbeys. The Bishop of Llandaff continued to hold his Manor or Lordship of Llandaff with some special privileges and jurisdiction, and whether, or to what extent, FitzHamon despoiled the see is a doubtful matter, though other Normans in other parts than Glamorgan are complained of as having done so, probably it seems by giving property claimed by the Bishop to monasteries founded or endowed by them.

THE COMITATUS.

The Vale of Glamorgan, after the conquest, constituted the shire, or body of the County, administered by the Sheriff, and the comitatus or County Court, regularly held monthly at

Cardiff, but sometimes meeting at other times and places, and attended by the holders of fees held directly of the Chief Lord and also by other leading men, holders of sub-manors, and also by some Welshmen, holding their lands in Welshery, as it was called, and not by feudal tenure.

THE MEMBER LORDSHIPS.

The shire proper, however, constituted only the smaller, though the more fertile and populous, portion of FitzHamon's marcher lordship, for the greater area by far consisted of what were known as the "members" not considered part of the County until the Statute 27 Hen. VIII, cap. 26. These member lordships were Senghenydd, Miscin, Glynrhondda, Neath, Avan, Tir-yr-Iarll, Coyty, Ruthyn, Talyvan, and Llanbleiddian, Senghenydd being divided for some purposes into Senghenydd supra and Senghenydd subtus and Neath into Neath citra and Neath ultra. The last four, Coyty, Ruthyn, Talyvan, and Llanbleiddian, were under Norman lords, if not from the first, at any rate from very early times. These were held by serjeanty and their lords had various independent privileges, holding perhaps under the Chief Lord a somewhat analogous position to that which a marcher Lord held under the King. It may be supposed that they held these special powers the better to defend their territories against the Welsh in the early days of the conquest. In fact, all the member lordships were often called marcher lordships (for instance by Rice Merrick), though that description, it is thought, could only properly apply to lordships held directly of the King. Tir-yr-Iarll appears to have always been considered as immediately under the Chief Lord, but in the earlier days his actual authority in the wilder portion of it must have been very small. The later lordship so called consisted and consists of the Parishes of Llangynwyd and Bettws, but prior to the gift of a large part to Margam Abbey, founded by Robert Consul in 1147, the name of Tir-y-Iarll is

believed to have applied to a much larger district. In Llangynwyd at an early date a castle was built, of which some remains exist, but as early as 1296, in the I.P.M. of Gilbert de Clare, it is described as burnt in war, and appears never to have been rebuilt. Tir-yr-Iarll was administered from Kenfig in the later times. Neath was granted at first to Richard de Granville but made over by him or his son to Neath Abbey, founded 1129 (or perhaps a little later), the chief lord, however, having a castle there. Neither de Granville nor the Abbot of Neath had any effective control over the Welsh of the hills which formed the northern part of the nominal lordship, and because he could not rule his Welshmen the Abbot in 1289 exchanged it (excepting certain portions near the Abbey) with Gilbert de Clare, the second of the name who was Lord of Glamorgan, for an annuity or rent charge of £100 per annum, charged on the rents of certain boroughs and manors.

All the rest of the members, Senghenydd, Miscin, Glyn-rhondda, and Avan (sometimes referred to as Baglan), were in the hands of Welsh lords, who held under the chief lord, but probably really retained possession partly because of the barren nature of their country, and partly because they could not easily be expelled, and were no doubt practically independent. They were all (with perhaps some little doubt in the case of Senghenydd) descendants of Jestyn ap Gwrgan. There are, in the cases of all these Welsh lordships, indications of encroachments or attempts at such before their final annexation by the de Clares. Various abandoned mounds which probably have been " mottes " on which wooden castles existed (but which have not been fully explored) may represent either temporarily successful Norman attempts or erection of Welsh chiefs in imitation of the Norman practice. The status of such places as Whitchurch, Radyr, Pentyrch, and Clun, now parts of Senghenydd and Miscin respectively, but often referred to as Manors in mediaeval documents, seems to point in the same direction. Newland (the parish of

Peterston-super-Montem) looks like an early encroachment by the lords of Coyty. It is on record that Ivor Bach, the Welsh lord of Senghenydd, surprised Cardiff Castle, and took prisoner William, Earl of Gloucester, and compelled him to restore some lands which he had taken. (*Giraldus Cambrensis* and *Annals of Margam*, the latter giving 1158 as the date.) Where the seats of government, if the expression may be used, of the Welsh lords of Senghenydd, Miscin, and Glynrhondda were situate is not ascertained, or how far they may have adopted Norman customs, but the Lords of Avan appear to have done so to a considerable extent, building a castle and founding the borough now known as Aberavon, to which they granted charters, etc. As time went on it would seem that the position of these semi-independent lordships became intolerable to the chief lords. Their lords, whether Norman or Welsh, fought amongst themselves or rebelled against the authority of the chief lord, and in 1245-47 Richard de Clare expelled Richard Siward, then Lord of Llanbleiddian, Talyfan, and Ruthyn, and Howel ap Meredith, the Welsh lord of Miscin, and took those lordships into his own hands. At the time of the *Extent* of 1262 (as appears above) Senghenydd, Glynrhondda, and Avan (there called Baglan) remained Welsh, their lords, as is expressly recorded, owing no service except a horse and arms at death. However, Gilbert, son of Richard, followed up his father's policy, and in 1266 dispossessed and imprisoned Griffith ap Rhys, the last Welsh lord of Senghenydd, soon after building the great castle of Caerphilly, and probably also Castell Coch. He also, under some circumstances which do not appear to be recorded, obtained possession of Glynrhondda, for it is named as part of his possessions in the Inquisition of 1296, taken after his death in 1295. Neath, as we have seen, was acquired from the Abbey by this Gilbert in 1289. Avan remained in Welsh hands until the time of Edward le Despenser (d. 1375), who acquired it, it is stated, by exchange for other lands in England. Coyty alone never came into the hands of the Chief Lord, but its special privileges seem to have

been curtailed. This, of course, was not a Welsh lordship, but was in the hands of the Turbervill family (probably followers of FitzHamon) and their successors.

TENURES.

As regards the Welsh lordships, we find in the Inquisitions hardly any such indications as are mentioned by Mr. Seebohm (in the *Tribal System in Wales*) with respect to some parts of Wales, of a survival in full force of Welsh tribal customs. It rather seems as if the descent of land may have become simply gavelkind, though it is difficult to speak with confidence on the point. There are scarcely any traces of bond tenants, food rents, or servile works. All the tenures appear to have been free, or to have soon become so, except in a few cases in Whitchurch (a member of Senghenydd) and Radyr and Clun (members of Miscin), and it is highly probable that these had been annexed before the complete subjugation of those respective lordships. Otherwise there were practically no renders except small rents of assise, an aid called " comortha," and heriots at death. Very likely the rents of assise and comortha may have represented commutations already made in the time of the Welsh lords for former food rents The comortha was a small payment by the owners of some (not all) tenements, made in most cases in every alternate year. It was peculiar to the hill lordships, and to Tal-y-van, in which latter place it seems to have been paid annually. There was also the avowry (advocaria), a payment of (ordinarily) 4d., by certain Welshmen described as holding no land, and also by sub-tenants, but this was not peculiar to the hills or to " member " lordships. It was received also by lords of manors in the Vale.

JURISDICTION.

The " member " lordships, whether originally held by Norman or Welsh lords, had, after the chief lord had taken possession, their own Courts with similar jurisdiction to the

Comitatus or Shire Court at Cardiff. Nothing is known as to the manner of administering justice in earlier times, but the lordship courts under the chief lord were presided over by the Sheriff or a deputy, and in them fines of land were levied and all kinds of criminal cases tried. In cases of "false judgment," the suitors (who were the judges) might be, and sometimes were, fined in the Comitatus, and so far their courts seem to have been in an inferior position, but we have no evidence that the fine went to the injured party. In the first instance, at least, it was accounted for to the lord. Rice Merrick, however, states that wrong judgments could be reversed by the Comitatus. The Inquisition on the death of Gilbert de Clare, slain at Bannockburn in 1314, states that each member lordship had "royal liberty" of itself, and also that Coyty and Avan were held with royal liberty, but that the chief lord had the rights of wardship and marriage, which is somewhat curious in the case of Avan, for lands held, as it was called, "in Welshery" were not ordinarily subject to those incidents of tenure, and it seems as if some change had taken place there, if indeed the claim was admitted by the Lords of Avan.

THE WELSH "PATRIA."

Two other districts have to be mentioned, which were not portions of any manor, and, though widely apart, were alike in one respect, viz., Kibbor and Glynogwr. In the case of Kibbor the Welsh portion is meant. Kibbor is, speaking generally, the district between the River Taff and Rhymney and the range of hills some five miles north of Cardiff on the north and the sea on the south. The north-eastern part was called the country (patria) of the Welshmen of Kibbor, who held their lands in Welshery, and were subject to no service except suit to the Comitatus at Cardiff. Glynogwr (Llandyfodwg) was in a similar position, except, perhaps, as to the suit to the shire court. It is now administered as part of

Ogmore, belonging to the Duchy of Lancaster, but did not originally form part of that manor. It may be mentioned here that many manors contained small portions of land held in Welshery, owing no service except suit to the Court of the Manor. The farm known as Brynwell, in the Parish of Leckwith, is an instance, and there are several others in various places.

" PERQUISITES " OF COURT.

In those hill lordships which had long remained in Welsh hands there was no great immigration of English, nor were the Welsh holders displaced. The chief instruments of oppression consisted of what were called " the perquisites " of court. These included heriots and fines and forfeitures of every description. While these were, and remained, trifling in the boroughs and in the Vale, the inquisitions show that in the purely Welsh districts they by degrees rose very greatly, and in Despenser times must have been felt as a great hardship, very probably largely accounting for the support which Owen Glyndwr received there. The inquisitions show this to some extent, but they contain only estimates of the amounts. Court rolls or minister's accounts of the 14th century are almost entirely wanting, but there happens to be an account of the time of Edward le Despenser which shows that in 1373-4 no less than £144 7s. 4d. was levied under this head in Senghenydd subtus alone, the total of all receipts being £189 11s. 0d. In the I.P.M. of Edward le Despenser taken in the following year these pleas and perquisites are only estimated at £30 0s. 0d. Another custom which, in the later times at any rate, seems to have been almost, though not quite, peculiar to the hill lordships was the " mise," a payment made to each new lord on his succeeding to the lordship and collected in yearly instalments spread over five years. Its origin has not been satisfactorily explained. It has been said to have been made in consideration of the remission of fines, etc., due at the death

of the preceding lord, and it has also been thought to have been a kind of aid to the new lord towards paying his relief to the Crown. In the time of Elizabeth it was a fixed amount from each lordship liable to it. These were Senghenydd, Miscin, Glynrhondda, Tir-yr-Iarll, Ruthyn, Avan, Neath and Llantwit Major. Cowbridge is also mentioned, which may mean Llanbleddian, not otherwise referred to. Rice Meyrick represents mises, in Hugh le Despenser's time, as having been payable from most of the Vale manors, and gives a list of "ploughlands" subject thereto according to a survey of that period probably not now extant, which includes the greater part of the Vale manors. If the mise was then in fact collected there, the practice seems to have ceased early. In the hill lordships, the mise was collected, at least in part, as late as 1758, but has now become obsolete. Another payment to the chief lord, in his own member lordships and boroughs, and also by inhabitants of manors held by others under him, was the chence or cense, sometimes called "smoke silver" or the "toll of the pix", a tax upon inhabited houses or hearths. Lords of member lordships not in the chief lord's hands appear to have received this. It was of very small amount, 2d. or 1d. (different lordships varying), and in later times often commuted for some fixed lump sum, for the whole lordship or borough.

In the vale manors, where there are copyholds and special customs as to descent of lands, in some cases the descent is borough English, or to the youngest son (in Llantwit the youngest son by the first wife), and in other cases gavelkind, which appears to be Welsh, while borough English may have been introduced from England after the Conquest. In the lordship of Coyty there are districts called Coyty Wallia, with gavelkind, and Coyty Anglia, with borough English. In the vale manors the customary tenants, and some of the freeholders, owed various works, such as ploughing, mowing, reaping, harvesting, fold making, weeding, etc., but by the early part

of the 14th century it had become the practice for the most part to commute these services for money payments, and in some ministers' accounts of the 15th century these payments are included with the chief rents or quit rents.

THE BOROUGHS.

The mediaeval boroughs of Glamorgan were seven, Cardiff, Llantrisant, Cowbridge, Caerphilly, Kenfig, Aberavon (formerly Avan or Avene), and Neath. There can hardly be any doubt that all these were founded after the Conquest, and sprang up in connection with castles. In the case of all except Caerphilly, some charters exist (not always in the possession of the borough authorities), but in no case does it appear that the first charter exists. The earliest known charter always treats a borough and burgesses as in existence, and some of them refer in terms to matters being done or carried on as of old. The mediaeval charters may be described as of two kinds, those granted by the lords, comprising privileges throughout the lordship, and dealing with the government of the borough, its constitution, officers, courts, and their jurisdiction, etc., and others by various kings of England, which in no way relate to internal affairs, but confer or confirm freedom from tolls, etc., throughout England. In the case of Aberavon the original earliest charter (not in existence) was no doubt granted by some Welsh lord. A charter of Leisan ap Morgan, living in the middle of the 13th century, grants to all the burgesses of his town of Avene all the liberties in that town which the burgesses of Kenfig had so far as he was able to grant them, and this was confirmed in 1350 by his descendant Thomas de Avene. These are the only existing charters granted by other than the chief lord, and illustrate the powers enjoyed by a lord of a member lordship. It may be added that Edward le Despenser, who acquired Avan of Thomas de Avene in the year 1373, granted a charter conferring on the burgesses of Avene further privileges, including the right to hold a fair. This document

mentions the praepositus (portreeve), but contains no provisions as to his election, or anything as to the internal government of the town, from which it may be inferred that these matters had been already regulated by the Welsh lords, though the charters are not extant. It is impossible here to go into the details of the charters of the other boroughs. Some exist as to each, except Cowbridge (as to mediaeval times) and Caerphilly.

There is no doubt that Cardiff was the earliest in point of date, and the charters of other boroughs were more or less modelled upon those of Cardiff. The praepositus (portreeve) of Cardiff is mentioned in an Agreement of 1126 between Robert Consul and Urban, Bishop of Llandaff, and in a charter to Neath by Edward le Despenser there is mentioned as inspected a charter of William, Earl of Gloucester (1147–1183), which granted to the burgesses certain privileges (as to freedom from toll) which the burgesses of Cardiff had. There is perhaps little doubt that some charter was given to Cardiff by Fitz Hamon. As to the boroughs generally, their chief municipal officers were portreeves, except (in the later mediaeval days) Cardiff and Cowbridge, in each of which two bailiffs were elected. The change from portreeves to bailiffs was made in each case in the 15th century, at Cardiff by a charter of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Worcester, 1421, and at Cowbridge at some date between 1461 and 1487. The portreeves or bailiffs were elected by submitting certain names (three or four) to the constable of the castle of the town, out of whom he selected the portreeve or bailiffs. In each town there was held monthly or fortnightly what was termed the hundred court of the town, in which the constable, bailiffs (or one of them), or portreeve presided. The matters to be dealt with in this court occasion many provisions of the charters. The name " hundred " seems curious, for Glamorgan was not divided into hundreds until after, and in pursuance of, the Statute of 27 Hen. VIII, and the jurisdiction of the court did not extend to anything beyond

the liberties of the borough. The charters prescribed the dates of fairs, contained provisions prohibiting trading by others than freemen, protecting the burgesses from being proceeded against (except in certain cases) elsewhere than in the town court, providing for the constable of the castle being *ex-officio* mayor, the making of bye-laws, and various other matters. The burgage rents varied in the different towns, being 1s. per burgage in some, as in Cardiff, for instance, and 6d. in others.

In the case of Cowbridge no charter is known to be extant other than one of Charles II, but a survey of the estates of the Earl of Pembroke made in 1570 contains a memorandum, not well composed or clearly expressed, as to certain charters said to have been granted by Richard de Clare, Hugh le Despenser, Edward le Despenser, Thomas le Despenser, Isabel, Countess of Worcester, Richard Nevill, Earl of Warwick, and George, Duke of Clarence. It is not stated whether these charters then existed or where the particulars were taken from.

As to Caerphilly, nothing is known as to any charter, but presumably it had such, as it clearly was a borough, the latest, no doubt, to be founded, and the first to lose or disuse whatever privileges it may have had. It may be presumed to have arisen with the building of the castle (c. 1268). Each burgess paid 6d. for his burgage, and a like amount for an acre of land. It had a portreeve, hundred court, etc., as the other boroughs, but its privileges appear to have been disused during the 15th century. A minister's account for Caerphilly, 1428–9, shows that there was then a portreeve, serjeants, and borough court. In an account of arrears due to Richard, Earl of Warwick, in 1461, the portreeve of Caerphilly is mentioned as an accounting officer. But in a minister's account of the time of Jasper, Duke of Bedford, 1491–2, it is said that there was then no portreeve or serjeants and no court, the suitors doing their suit at the court of Senghenydd *supra* and *subtus*. It may be of interest to mention that in the case of the other

boroughs the system of government by bailiffs or portreeves went on until the 19th century, in the case of Cardiff and Neath until the passing of the Municipal Corporations Act, at Aberavon until 1861, when a charter was granted by Queen Victoria, constituting it a municipal borough, and in the case of Kenfig, Llantrisant, and Cowbridge until shortly after the passing of Sir Charles Dilke's Act in 1883, when Cowbridge received a charter as a municipal borough, and Town Trusts were constituted for Llantrisant and Kenefig.

OFFICERS OF THE LORDSHIP.

The officers of the Lordship of Glamorgan were the Sheriff (sometimes termed the Sheriff of Cardiff, the name of the "caput" being then used for the lordship), who was appointed by the chief lord, not yearly, but apparently during pleasure. The sheriffs were sometimes selected from among the land-owners of the County, but more frequently from outside. The Sheriff presided in the comitatus or county court, and also in the chief courts of the member lordships when in the chief lord's hands, and appears to have represented the chief lord in his absence for practically all purposes. The coroner was elected by the suitors of the county court or comitatus, by their submitting three names, out of whom the lord or the sheriff selected one. Rice Merrick states, as one of the privileges of Kibbor, that the person chosen as coroner must possess some land therein. He does not know the origin or reason of this. The coroner and his officers attended the comitatus for the purpose of enforcing its judgments. They also attended at the more important fairs to keep order, and for the protection of persons going to and from them, probably a very necessary thing in the then lawless state of the district. He collected the castleward payments or wardsilver due from the lords of the ancient manors, and certain miscellaneous rents, etc., due to the chief lord, but not arising from any manor in his hands so as to be collected by a manorial officer.

He also had to do in some cases with the custody and conveyance of felons, and the realization of their forfeited goods. Under him were four bailiffs, those of East Thawe, West Thawe, Kibbor, and Glynogwr, and also sub-bailiffs.

The Bedells were the chief accounting officers in the member lordships of Senghenydd, Miscin, Glynrhondda, Talyvan, Ruthyn, Tir-yr-Iarll, Neath, and Avan.

In Senghenydd, Miscin, Talyvan, and Neath, there were also other officers called Receivers of the Forest, who are first mentioned in the I.P.M. of Edward le Despenser. Probably this may have been an office first introduced in his time. In the boroughs, the bailiffs or portreeve accounted for the lord's dues, and in ordinary manors the reeve. In each lordship or manor there was also a steward, who presided at the manorial courts. In the 15th century another official appears, called an "appruator", whose main business seems to have been to arrange or supervise letting of land, it having become a regular practice to let demesnes, or other lands which had fallen into the lord's hand for lives, terms of years, or from year to year. There was only one appruator, who acted in various manors. The officers accounted for the moneys received by them to a receiver at Cardiff, and in the later times, at least, an auditor was employed to audit all the accounts.

Such is a short and necessarily imperfect account of the distribution of the lands and mode of government, if it can be called such, in Glamorgan prior to the Statute of 27 Hen. VIII, and from what has been said of the composition and jurisdiction of the county court, and those of the member lordships and the boroughs, and when it is remembered that any criminal had only to make his way into Breconshire, Gower, or beyond the Usk in order to be safe, it is easy to understand the words used by Rice Merrick in speaking of the state of things prior to that Statute. He says, p. 88, "how unorderly they were then governed—Life and Death, Lands and goods, subject to

the pleasure of peculiar Lords. And how uncertain lawes, customes, and usages, whereof some rested in memory and not written, were ministered, a great number that live at this day can well remember and testify."

There can be no doubt it was high time that the *jura regalia* of the marcher lords should be abolished.

Perhaps a word or two should be added as to certain names of districts, within the limits of Glamorgan and not ordinarily reckoned as " members ", which are specially mentioned in the Statute of Henry VIII as being in future to form part of the new shire.

Tallygarney (Talygarn), in the parishes of Llantrisant and Pendoylan, had always been in Welsh hands, and its lords are said to have had powers of life and death, and some measure of independence, but it was not ordinarily counted among the member lordships.

Llandaff was the lordship of the Bishop.

Llantwit was always in the chief lord's hands, though not accounted part of the body of the County, and sometimes referred to as a member.

Ogmore was originally an ordinary manor held as four Knight's fees, but had long since come to the King (Henry IV) as Duke of Lancaster, and formed, in the time of Henry VIII, part of the Duchy lands.

Doubtless it was considered best, in order to avoid doubts or questions, to mention these expressly.

CHAPTER II.

MEMBER LORDSHIPS OF GLAMORGAN.

It will be known to all who have looked into the early history of this County that the district in mediaeval times bearing the name of the County of Glamorgan was far more limited in area than the present County, which was constituted as it at present exists by the Statute 27 Hen. VIII, cap. 26.

In that statute the County of Glamorgan is treated as already existing, and it is enacted that certain lordships, etc., shall be united to it, and that the whole shall be known by the name and shire of Glamorgan.

Glamorgan (including in that expression what was known as the " body " or County proper as well as the " members ") is described by Leland and others as extending from the River Rhymney to the Crymlyn Brook. Using modern terms, it might be described as including the district between the Rhymney and the Tawe with the exception of the parish of Llansamlet. This was the district which, after the conquest had been completed, owned the over-lordship of the Lords of Glamorgan. With Gower and the country to the west I am not at present concerned. It some time since occurred to me that now manors or lordships have long ceased to be of much practical importance, as what (to use a modern phrase) I may call administrative areas, and owing to many manorial privileges and customs having become obsolete, there was danger that the geographical bounds and extent of the ancient County and its member lordships might be forgotten, at all events in a great measure. This would be a misfortune, because there

can be no doubt that a correct knowledge of these lordships would be a considerable help to the study of the history and archaeology of the district. I have, therefore, by the aid of surveys (for the most part of the 17th century), and other information, prepared the map which is now before you, which shows, so far as I have been able to ascertain them, the boundaries of the old " members " of the County, and of some of the other more important lordships. I have thought it might interest you, and also be of advantage in enabling others to correct any errors into which I may have fallen, if I brought before you some facts with regard to the old manors or lordships shown on this map and their history.

The names of the member lordships, always regarded as such, and the Lords of which, before they came into the hands of the chief lord, enjoyed exceptional privileges, are, in alphabetical order, Avan, Coyty, Glynrhondda, Llanbleddian, Miscin, Neath citra and ultra, Ruthyn, Senghenydd, supra and subtus, Talavan and Tir-y-Iarll.

In addition to these there are named in the Statute of Henry VIII, Talygarn, Ogmore, Llantwit, and Llandaff, as to each of which I propose to say a few words.

I do not wish here to deal with the general history of the conquest of Glamorgan, but I must just mention that it appears to me that those histories which say or imply that FitzHamon conquered the whole district from the Rhymney to the Tawe, and granted it out, as regards the vale, to his Norman followers, and as regards the hills and parts of the west to the sons of Jestyn, to hold of him and his successors, hardly give an accurate idea of what took place. I should imagine that the truer view is that, while the Normans soon established themselves in most of the vale, the portion of the County which remained under Welsh Chieftains so remained of necessity rather than by grant, and that these chiefs were for all practical purposes independent for a century and a half after the invasion of FitzHamon.

I can see but little indication, if any, that they considered their position to be that of feudatories to a lord, and I think what I shall have to say, however incompletely and imperfectly, as to those of the member lordships which remained in Welsh hands will tend to confirm the opinion which I have expressed above.

With regard to the boundaries of the various lordships, it has been nceessary for the most part, to follow surveys of the 17th century. There is no reason to think that the boundaries mentioned in these had undergone any change, as compared with those of earlier times, so far as the northern portions of the County are concerned ; but in the case of the southern parts of Senghenydd and Miscin, and the lordships of Llanbleddian, Ruthyn and Talyfan, the boundaries may well be, and in some instances almost certainly are, different in some degree from those of the early mediaeval days.

In dealing with the member lordships, I think it will be most convenient to begin with Senghenydd, and work westward, taking first those which extend to the northern bounds of the County, and afterwards those lying more to the southward.

Senghenydd.

This is by far the largest of the old member lordships, and remained under Welsh Lords until 1266. The status and extent of this district prior to the Norman conquest is a matter of some difficulty, and time hardly admits of discussing it at length here. It does not appear to have formed part of either of the cantrevs of Morganwg, not, apparently, being included in either Penychen or Gwentloog.

Giraldus speaks of the Diocees of Llandaff as containing five cantrevs and a fourth part of a cantrev, namely Senghenydd. It thus seems to have occupied an anomalous position. It has been suggested as a possible solution of the difficulty that,

at some period when Glamorgan and Gwent were under different kings, Senghenydd may have belonged to Gwent (and perhaps formed part of the cantrev of Gwentloog), and may have been severed politically without being united to any cantrev of Glamorgan. Though not referred to at all in the very early list of cantrevs contained in the *Liber Landavensis*, it is named (though not as a cantrev or part of one) in one of the later grants set forth in that book, and land which extended to the sea (perhaps what is now known as Splott) is described as being in Senghenydd. This would make Senghenydd include Kibbor. The grant is of the time of Joseph, Bishop of Llandaff, 1022 to 1046.

Whatever it may have been deemed to include prior to the Norman conquest, there appears to be no reason to suppose that since that time its bounds have differed materially from those of the present day.

It may be described as containing the whole of the parishes of Merthyr Tydfil, Gelligaer, Llanfabon, and Eglwysilan, the Hamlet of Van, Rudry, the Glamorganshire part of Llanfedw or Michaelston-y-fedw, and nearly the whole of Whitchurch. In one or two places, and to a small extent (probably accounted for in part by changes in the course of the river) it extends beyond the Rhymney into Monmouthshire.

Senghenydd supra is the part north of the Caiach Brook, Senghenydd subtus south of that stream.

Such is the great lordship of Senghenydd, which, according to the often repeated legend of the conquest of Glamorgan, was given by FitzHamon to Einon ap Collwyn, the traitor of the story. This can only be regarded as, at the most, extremely uncertain. What cannot be doubted, however, is that some sixty years later the celebrated Welsh chieftain, Ifor Bach, was Lord of Senghenydd. Of him it is recorded by Giraldus (who speaks of the event as having happened in his own time), and in the *Margam Annals*, that he took prisoner in Cardiff Castle

William, Earl of Gloucester, his Countess, and their son, and compelled the Earl to restore some rights of which he had been deprived.

This event, according to the *Annals of Margam*, took place in 1158. His descendants and successors as Lords of Senghenydd were :—

Griffith ap Ifor.
Rhys ap Griffith.
Griffith ap Rhys, the last Welsh Lord of Senghenydd.

About 1170, William, Earl of Gloucester, confirmed a grant to Margam which had been made by Griffin or Griffith, son of Ifor, for the purpose of founding a monastery.

This is an indication that the Earl claimed to be over-lord of the district, and that the monks thought it well to obtain his confirmation, though it can hardly be supposed he had much, if any, real authority there.

Of Rhys, son of Griffith, I have been able to trace but little. It seems probable that he was the " Baron of South Wales " who in 1245 was, with others, summoned to appear at Westminster to answer for various depredations.

In the *Annals of Tewkesbury*, it is mentioned that in 1242 Howel ap Meredith (no doubt the Lord of Miscin who was soon after expelled), Rhys ap Griffith, and Gilbert de Turbervill disturbed Senghenydd and Miscin by fighting with one another. Richard de Clare sent certain of his friends, including the Abbot of Tewkesbury, to inquire into the matter, and they, having assembled a Comitatus, or County Court, at Cardiff, pacified the disturbers as well as they could, and took hostages from them, the hostage for Rhys ap Griffith being his son (not here named) who was put into Cardiff Castle. It seems a little curious that the sending of these peacemakers is ascribed to Richard de Clare, for he did not come of age till 1243, the following year.

Of Griffith ap Rhys, the son of Rhys ap Griffith, perhaps the same who was a hostage in 1242, we learn, from an *Extent* of the County made on the death of Richard de Clare in 1262, that he held two commotes in Senghenydd owing no service except a heriot of a horse and arms at death. This was, of course, practical independence. Under date 1266, in certain *Welsh Annals*, it is stated that Griffith ap Rhys was taken in Cardiff Castle and sent to Kilkenny to be imprisoned. After this we hear no more of Welsh Lords of Senghenydd. I have not ascertained what was the special pretext for dispossessing Griffith, but think there can be no doubt that Gilbert de Clare, by whom it was done, was following up the policy begun by his father, Richard, of getting the member lordships into his own hands. In 1268 the building of Caerphilly Castle was begun by de Clare, and this led to a long controversy between him and Llewelyn ap Griffith, Prince of North Wales, whose power had become considerable owing to the dissensions between the King and the Barons, and who claimed to be the over-lord of Senghenydd. Llewelyn attacked, and to some extent destroyed Caerphilly Castle while in course of building. There were protracted negotiations for the settlement of the dispute, many documents relating to which are printed in *Cartae*, p. 759, *et seq.*, but these never led to any actual settlement, and meantime the building of Caerphilly Castle continued. The ultimate fate of Llewelyn and the subjugation of North Wales are matters of general history.

It may as well be mentioned here that de Clare's Castle of Caerphilly was certainly the first erected there by the Norman or English Lords, whatever may have been the date or nature of the early fortress which gave the place the name of " Caer." It was clearly not (as has been supposed by some writers) the Castle of Senghenydd destroyed by the Welsh, as mentioned in the *Brut y Tywysogion*, in 1217. That was evidently somewhere in Gower, probably at the place now known as Llangenydd. Castell Coch also appears to have been built by this Gilbert de Clare.

Contemporaneously, no doubt, with the building of the Castle, it is evident that a borough was founded at Caerphilly, which in all probability had a charter or charters like the other boroughs. The mention of burgesses and burgage rents in several inquisitions and accounts makes the existence of a borough clear. Rhys Myryke refers to it as "sometime a Borough Towne, but now using noe liberty," so that in his day it had lost any privileges it may have possessed, though at what period this occurred is not recorded.

In 1295, the year of the death of Gilbert de Clare, there was a great Welsh rising, which was put down by King Edward I in person, but not before it had disastrous effects in Glamorgan.

At Caerphilly, and throughout Senghenydd, there seems, from the inquisition taken almost immediately after, on the death of de Clare, to have been nearly complete destruction of everything but the Castle.

It is said that at Caerphilly there was a good and well fortified Castle, but the receipts, apart from Whitchurch, come to only a few shillings. There are mentioned 80 burnt burgages, which used to yield before the war £2; two mills, which used to yield £10 6s. 8d., are worth nothing; and pleas and perquisites which used to be worth £2 are also of no value.

At Whitchurch (Album Monasterium) we find a different state of things. Though the mill had been burnt the whole receipts come to £9 4s. 2d. Rents of customary tenants are mentioned there (a thing generally unknown throughout the great hill lordships), and I think this fact and the name of the place and condition of things generally rather indicate that Whitchurch may have been annexed earlier than the rest of Senghenydd.

The inquisition of 1307, on the death of Joan de Clare, shows a very different state of affairs. A few years' peace had brought the total receipts to upwards of £96. In 1314, the total was

£108; in 1349, £237. In 1375, it is put at £194, but there is good reason to think it is here much understated.

The inquisition of that year (on the death of Edward le Despenser) was taken at Gloucester, and not locally, as had been the case on former occasions, and an actually extant Minister's account for Senghenydd subtus shows that only about two years before (in 1373–1374) that division of the lordship alone produced £189.

What are called pleas and perquisites made up £144 of this sum, an enormous amount to be exacted in those days for heriots, deodands, and fines and forfeitures of various kinds. I think it must be admitted that the rule of the Despenser was probably terribly oppressive, and may well have given rise to the saying which has survived to our own time, by which anything wholly lost is described as having "gone to Caerphilly."

My object has been not to give a history of Senghenydd, but merely to show of what it consisted, and by whom it was ruled in the earlier days.

Having shown how it came into the hands of the Chief Lords, I have only to add that it was one of the lordships granted by King Edward VI to Sir William Herbert, on the 7th May, 1550, and has ever since remained in the possession of those deriving title under him, the Marquess of Bute being the present Lord.

Miscin.

This is another of the old member lordships, which, like Senghenydd, remained in the hands of Welsh Lords for long after FitzHamon's time, though, as we shall see, this remark may have to be qualified to some extent as regards its southern portion.

It is bounded by Senghenydd on the east, on the north by Brecknockshire, on the west for the most part by Glynrhondda, though it also abuts upon Ruthyn, Talafan, and Talygarn, while on the south it has the old manors or fees of Peterston and Saint Fagans, and a part of Llandaff. The bounds on the west and south are well ascertained, but are by no means co-incident with those of parishes.

Over this large district, in the times succeeding the Norman conquest, descendants of Jestyn ap Gwrgan ruled.

That the following remarks, as well as some with regard to Glynrhondda, may be clear, it will be well to give the names of some of these descendants of Jestyn :—

Caradoc ap Jestyn

Morgan ap Caradoc	Cadwalen ap Caradoc	Meredith
Morgan Cam, Leisan, and Owen	Morgan ap Cadwallon	Howel ap Meredith, Lord of Miscin, ejected by Richard de Clare about 1245.
Morgan Vachan son of Morgan Cam, held Baglan-Aven, 1262.	Owen Creich and Morgan, held Glynrhondda, 1262.	

I do not mean that the above pedigree includes all the sons of the different persons, but so far as it goes it can be proved by old writers of authority, or by extant charters.

A charter of King John, of 1205, confirms to Margam common of pasture in the mountains between Taff and Neath Rivers. John was at this time holding the Lordship of Glamorgan, which he had obtained in right of his wife Isabel, daughter of William, Earl of Gloucester. It confirms the grant as one which had been made by Morgan ap Caradoc, and the fact of the grant indicates that Morgan was Lord of the whole of the hill district between the two rivers named.

This evidence does not stand alone, for a grant of a certain Caradoc Uerbeis of land in Miscin, on the borders of Glynrhondda (afterwards part of the land appertaining to the

Monastery of Penrhys) was made with the consent of the grantor's Lord, Morgan ap Caradoc.

This Morgan was living in 1188, and guided Giraldus Cambrensis and Archbishop Baldwin over the marsh beyond Neath, as Giraldus states.

Another son of Caradoc ap Jestyn was named Meredith, and according to a statement in *Glamorgan Genealogies*, it appears that in 1245–1247 he was Lord of Miscin and was dispossessed by Richard de Clare. The statement is confirmed to some extent by other authorities, for it appears from the proceedings by Richard de Clare against Richard Siward (referred to in dealing with Llanbleddian) that Howel was concerned in the disturbances which led to the forfeiture of Siward's lands.

It will also be remembered that he was one of those who gave trouble in 1242. The *Brut y Tywysogion* also, under date 1246, mentions a Howel ap Meredith, who had been entirely dispossessed by the Earl of Clare.

The above history is no doubt the true one, and the legends which describe FitzHamon as having retained Miscin for himself inaccurate, as also in all likelihood is the story of Robert of Gloucester having built a castle there, before 1147.

Mr. Clark (*Land of Morgan*, p. 48) considers the existing remains of Llantrisant Castle probably referable to the reign of Henry III. This, of course, is consistent with its having been built by Richard de Clare on the expulsion of Howel ap Meredith. A document amongst the Penrice MSS., dated 1246, refers to the bailiff of the Castle of Llantrisant, so that it had been built by that time. The history of the town of Llantrisant, so far as it can be made out from the accounts, seems to indicate the time of Richard de Clare as that of its foundation. We know that in Llantrisant, as in Cardiff and Cowbridge, the rent of a burgage was 1s., and that fractional

parts of burgages were known. According to the *Extent* of 1262, the borough rent of Llantrisant was only 13s. 4d., while in 1307, there were 145½ burgages, yielding £7 5s. 6d.

I do not mean that the place was unoccupied prior to Richard de Clare's time, but I think it seems probable at least that he founded the Castle and Borough.

From the time of Richard de Clare onwards the Lords of Cardiff have also been Lords of Miscin, except indeed for about three years in the time of King Edward VI, who granted Llantrisant to Sir William Herbert, 10th July, 1547, but did not grant him Cardiff until 7th May, 1550. Within the bounds of Miscin are part of the manor of Penrhys, and the whole of the manors of Pentyrch, Clun, and Radyr.

Penrhys is the territory granted in the time of the Welsh Lords to the Cistercian Order, and which appears to have belonged at first to Margam and afterwards to Caerleon, and, at the time of the dissolution of the monasteries, to Llantarnam. The so-called manor of Penrhys is partly in Miscin and partly in Glynrhondda, which lordships were probably in the same hands at the time of the original grants.

Pentyrch was, in 1262, entered in the *Extent* of that time as a manor held of the chief lord by Henry de Sully, but does not appear in subsequent accounts, and probably soon returned to the hands of the chief lord.

Of the origin of Clun as a manor I know little or nothing. It is referred to by that name in a writ, dated 1317, directing the delivery of a share of Gilbert de Clare's lands to Hugh le Despenser in right of his wife Eleanor de Clare. For several centuries, Pentyrch and Clun have been considered as one under the name of the manor of Pentyrch and Clun, and as members or a member of Miscin, but the fact of there being copyholds held of the manor of Pentyrch and Clun seems to indicate perhaps an earlier annexation than that of the rest of Miscin.

Radyr also is described as a manor in the writ of 1317, but was then and for long afterwards in the hands of the chief lord, and, though leased in the time of Henry VII, was never granted in fee. It has long been treated as simply a part of Miscin.

The southern boundary of Miscin runs through the parish of St. Fagans, and I suggest that it is likely that the manor of St. Fagans, as well as those of Radyr and Pentyrch and Clun, may have been encroachments after the original invasion of Fitzhamon, but earlier in date than the final expulsion of the Welsh Lords of Miscin.

The name Miscin, like that of Senghenydd, is no doubt older than the Norman Conquest, but, while the boundaries as marked on the map represent the member lordship incorporated with the County by the Act of Henry VIII, it is probable that on the south the district known by that name would be of greater extent in the old Welsh times.

From the expulsion of Howel ap Meredith onwards, Miscin remained in the hands of the chief lord, and was granted by King Edward VI to Sir William Herbert, 10th July, 1547, being a portion of the first grant to him.

Glynrhondda.

This district lies to the west of Miscin and comprises the parish of Ystradyfodwg and parts of Aberdare, Llanwonno, and Llantrisant. It is one of those which is by some writers stated to have been retained by FitzHamon, but this, as in the case of Miscin, cannot have been so in fact.

It was clearly under the rule of the descendants of Jestyn ap Gwrgan down to the middle of the 13th century. The confirmation by King John of a grant by Morgan ap Caradoc of common of pasture between the Taff and the Neath I have

already referred to, and in the *Extent* of 1262 it is stated that at that time the two sons of Morgan ap Cadwallon held Glynrhondda.

The pedigree which I have given in treating of Miscin shows that Cadwallon was a son of Caradoc ap Jestyn, and brother of Morgan ap Caradoc.

The exact words of the *Extent* of 1262 are that these two sons held "half a commote" in Glynrhondda, which may perhaps mean that they held part only of the Lordship now known by that name. The rest may perhaps have been taken by Richard de Clare, when he seized Miscin.

Under what circumstances Welsh Lords ceased to hold Glynrhondda I do not know, but, as we have seen, the policy of taking possession of the member Lordships seems to have been the regular policy of the de Clares at this period, and whatever the exact date may have been it is evident, from the inquisition on the death of Gilbert de Clare in 1295, that by that time Glynrhondda had come under the direct rule of the chief lord.

The inquisition, after dealing with Llantrisant, states that there was rent of Glynrhondda £5 8s. 0d., and pleas and perquisites £2.

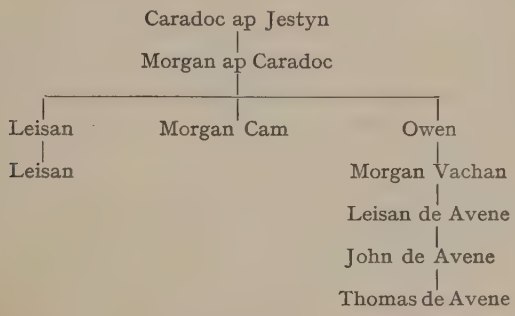
As in the case of Senghenydd, the receipts were probably low in that year on account of the recent rising, but even in the oppressive times of Hugh le Despenser the rents only seem to have been about £15, while the exactions under the head of pleas and perquisites came to £30, as compared with £80 in Miscin.

The district, though extensive, must always have been a wild and poor one, inhabited by a purely Welsh population. No castle appears ever to have existed within its bounds, and I suppose it was administered from Llantrisant. It was granted to Sir William Herbert in 1547.

Avan.

This Lordship, now known as Avan Wallia, was held for many generations by the descendants of Caradoc ap Jestyn. Its boundaries as shown on the map are taken from surveys of the 17th century, and there is no reason to doubt that they show the limits of the Lordship in the later mediaeval times, though its earlier Welsh Lords probably claimed a much more extensive rule.

The descent, which can be well established from the charters published by Mr. Clark, was as follows :—



Of these, Morgan ap Caradoc was at times at war with William, Earl of Gloucester, and Morgan Cam was repeatedly in arms. This latter gave much trouble to the Norman Lords, and also to the monks of Margam, with whom, however, he was sometimes on good terms. By one of his charters he purports to confirm a grant by Gilbert de Clare (the first Lord of Glamorgan of that name, who died in 1230), thus showing that he did not then acknowledge a superior. He claimed to be Lord of Newcastle, and by another charter confirmed to the monks their possessions there while expressly reserving his right to fight with others.

In the *Annals of Tewkesbury* he is said to have died in 1240 and to have been buried at Margam. According to the *Extent*

of 1262 Morgan Vachan, son of Morgan Cam, is said to have held half a commote in Baglan (meaning no doubt the same as the Lordship of Avan), owing no service but a heriot at death.

This family alone among the Welsh Lords (so far as is known) assumed the right of granting charters to a borough, namely Avan, now known as Aberavon. Two such are known, one granted to Leisan, son of Morgan Vachan, and the other a confirmation by his grandson, Thomas, in 1350. This Leisan appears to have been the first who was called de Avene, by which name his descendants were known.

A pedigree, given in *Glamorgan Genealogies*, makes the de Avene line end with Jane, stated to have been a daughter of Thomas ap Thomas ap John ap Leisan, who married Sir William Blunt and exchanged Avan for lands in England. The fact of an exchange is also mentioned in a MS. of the time of Elizabeth called a *Breviat*, by Rice Lewis.

This transaction may have been with Edward le Despenser (1357–1375), for in 1350, as above stated, Thomas de Avene granted a charter to Avan, while in 1373 Edward le Despenser granted a charter to " our burgesses of our town of Avan."

I feel some doubt, however, whether the lordship had in fact come into the hands of Edward le Despenser, for it is not mentioned in the inquisition taken on his death, and the charter last mentioned in no way deals with the affairs of the Borough generally, but grants freedom from toll throughout the Lordship of Glamorgan, which of course the chief lord could grant without being immediate lord.

In this respect it is like some of the charters granted by Kings of England to Cardiff, etc., at times when the Lordship was not in the King. It will be observed that these deal only with extraneous matters, such as freedom from toll throughout England, and do not purport to regulate the internal affairs of the Borough.

I have been unable to ascertain with certainty at what date the exchange took place by which the Lordship of Avan came into the hands of the chief lord. It was one of the lordships granted by King Edward VI to Sir William Herbert in 1550, and remained in the possession of his descendants till 1715, when it was sold to Sir Humphrey Mackworth. I believe the Earl of Jersey is the present Lord.

Resolven, shown upon the map, no doubt originally formed part of this lordship, but was granted to Margam Abbey as early as the days of William, Earl of Gloucester, and Morgan ap Caradoc. This is abundantly proved by charters, but space forbids entering upon the details here.

Neath.

The Lordship of Neath, of whatever it may have consisted at that early date, fell at the first conquest into the hands of de Granville, said to have been FitzHamon's brother. He, or perhaps his son, founded Neath Abbey in 1129, and the foundation charter mentions the Castle of Neath.

I cannot here deal with the question of the exact bounds of the territory which the grant to Neath Abbey may have comprised, but it must have included nearly all he had in that district, but largely consisting of waste or mountain land, and probably far more than his Welsh neighbours would have admitted that he had any right to grant. In fact, the rights granted to Neath at that time seem to have amounted to little more than leave to reclaim and possess, if they could, a large tract of waste land, and certain fisheries, etc.

The " member " Lordship of Neath as it existed in later times was no doubt made up of what de Granville retained in his own hands, added to those portions of the Abbey lands which, in the time of Edward I, Gilbert de Clare acquired by exchange. There continued in the hands of the Abbey, up to the dissolution, the manor of Cadoxton-juxta-Neath.

Very shortly after the foundation of the Abbey, de Granville, whose position was rendered very precarious by the Welsh, seems to have resigned Neath to Earl Robert of Gloucester, and retired to his Devonshire estates. The actual truth probably is that he was either driven out or retired because he felt that he could not hold his own. There is no doubt that there was a great and successful rising of the Welsh in 1135–1136.

The history of Neath was a stormy one for long after this, during the time when the castle was held on behalf of the chief lords, and most of the surrounding district was claimed by the Abbey. The town was attacked, and narrowly escaped by the arrival of aid in 1185, and in 1231 it was taken and burnt by the Welsh Prince Llewelyn ap Iorwerth and Morgan Cam, Lord of Avan, the latter of whom is said to have exterminated the inhabitants.

The *Extent* of 1262 shows that the town had in some measure recovered, the burgage rents amounting to £5 12s. 0d. It is noted, however, that there were 150 burgages burnt and destroyed.

On the 10th of April, 1289, Gilbert de Clare effected an important exchange with the Abbot, which in effect constituted the Lordships of Neath citra and Neath ultra, as afterwards known. He acquired the bulk of the Abbey lands, granting in exchange £100 per annum to be paid to the Abbey. The Abbey retained, as already stated, what is now the manor of Cadoxton-juxta-Neath.

The money to be paid yearly in exchange was to come from the following sources :—

	£	s.	d.
From the burgage rents of Neath	5	14	4½
From rent of manor of Llanbleddian ..	23	5	7½
From the burgage rents of Cowbridge ..	14	12	7½
From rent of manor of Llantwit	25	17	0¾
From burgage rents of Cardiff	20	3	0
From burgage rents of Caerleon	10	7	4
	£100	0	0

This, it may be noticed, gave rise to the "Abbot's rents" often mentioned in later years in connection with the places named, and in Cardiff, at least, to a certain amount of confusion as to whether the burgage rents belonged to the Crown (after the dissolution of the monasteries) or to the Lord of the borough. The actual fact was that the burgage rents fell to much below £20, so that the whole went to the Abbot, and, after the dissolution, to the Crown in right of the dissolved Abbey; but the right of escheat and all other rights of lordship remained with the lord, being expressly reserved out of the grant of 1289.

At first, the Abbot would seem to have had the best of the bargain, for in the inquisition on de Clare's death, in 1295, the income of the whole (reduced no doubt by the rising of that year already mentioned) was only estimated at £16 5s. 6¾d.

However, in 1307, the valuation was £51 18s. 10½d., and in 1314, £90 19s. 4½d.

Immediately after the rising of Llewelyn Bren, in 1316, the receipts for half a year were about £31, but on the death of Hugh le Despenser, in 1349, the yearly value was put at £128 12s. 6d., Welsh tenants in the hills rendering £36 0s. 5d., and the pleas and perquisites £60. These were of course just the items of revenue which would disappear in case of disturbance.

Neath remained in the hands of the chief lords, came with the rest to King Henry VIII, and, though not included in either of the grants to Sir William Herbert, was afterwards purchased from Queen Elizabeth and held by the Earls of Pembroke and their successors until sold to Sir Humphrey Mackworth in 1715. It now belongs to the Earl of Jersey.

Tir-y-Iarll.

Coming now again to the eastward, the next member is Tir-y-Iarll, consisting of the two large parishes of Llangynwyd and Bettws. The name of course means "the Earl's land",

but so far as I have observed the earliest documents call it Llangunith, or some form of Llangynwyd. There is, as in the case of Miscin and other districts, a doubtful legend that FitzHamon retained it in his own hands. Certainly the name of " Earl's land " seems to indicate that it was in the possession of the chief lord at an earlier date than the neighbouring districts, but at what date it ceased to be under Welsh Lords I have not ascertained. In the *Extent* of 1262 it is called Langunith, and I think it possible that it may have acquired the name of Tir-y-Iarll about that period, *i.e.*, in the time of Richard de Clare or his son Gilbert. It is called by that name in the inquisition of 1295. In a charter which must be of the year 1246 (many of the names of witnesses corresponding to a dated deed of that year), the Castle of Languneth is mentioned. In 1295, under Tir-y-Iarll " a castle burnt in the war " is mentioned, while in 1307 what is doubtless the same place is called the " site of an ancient castle." It does not seem to have been rebuilt, as the later inquisitions make no mention of a castle there. This point might probably be decided by an inspection of the ruins, of which Mr. Halliday has informed me considerable remains still exist. On the Ordnance Map it is called Castell Coch.

The district was always in the hands of the chief lord, and was granted to Sir William Herbert in 1550. It was sold to Sir Humphrey Mackworth in 1715, and I believe now belongs to Mr. Charles Evan Thomas.

Coyty.

This lordship alone among the greater " members " has the peculiarity of never having been from the first in the hands of the chief lords. It was taken by the Turbervill family, at or very soon after FitzHamon's conquest. The original Turbervill owner is said to have married the Welsh heiress, and

so acquired a more legitimate title than that of conquest, but, if this was so, and if, as some accounts allege, the lady was a great-granddaughter of Jestyn ap Gwrgan, the marriage must obviously have been much later than FitzHamon's time.

A Turbervill witnessed the agreement of 1126 between Bishop Urban of Llandaff and Earl Robert of Gloucester. I think the earliest documentary evidence which I have seen showing the connection of the family with Coyty is an entry on a roll of 1199, when a Paganus de Turbervill gave King John ten marks and a horse, that a suit between him and Walter de Sully concerning lands in Coity might be respited.

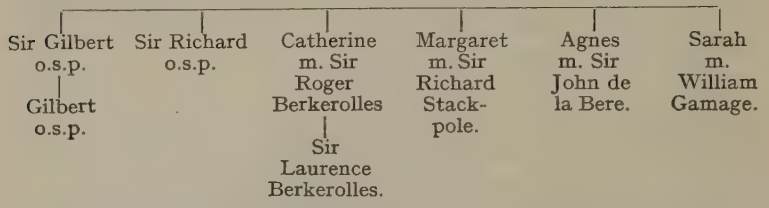
At this time the lordship, or "Honour" as it was then sometimes called, of Glamorgan, was in the hands of the King through his marriage with the daughter of Earl William.

In after years there is ample documentary evidence that several generations of Turbervills were Lords of Coyty with the most ample jurisdiction and privileges, and in the *Extent* of 1262 a Gilbert de Turbervill is said to hold the "Honour" of Coyty by the serjeanty of hunting. In the writ to the Escheator for giving effect to the partition of the estates of the last de Clare Lord the "Serjeanty" of Coity is assigned for (*i.e.*, deemed equal to) four knights' fees.

The holder at that time, according to the writ, was Sir Payn Turbervill, but it would seem that he must have been in fact dead at that actual date if an account printed in Volume I of the *Cardiff Records* is correct. He had been custodian of Glamorgan, and the account of his dealings in that character is up to 20th April, 1316, and is rendered by his widow. Possibly the particulars in the writ had been prepared some time before and not brought down to date.

This Turbervill, according to the account in *Glamorgan Genealogies* (p. 454), materially corroborated by the inquisition

on the death of Sir Laurence Berkerolles, hereafter referred to, left issue as follows :—


Sir Gilbert o.s.p.
Gilbert o.s.p.
Sir Richard o.s.p.
Catherine m. Sir Roger Berkerolles
Sir Laurence Berkerolles.
Margaret m. Sir Richard Stackpole.
Agnes m. Sir John de la Bere.
Sarah m. William Gamage.

The descendants of the daughters need not be traced for present purposes.

An inquisition on the death of Sir Laurence Berkerolles, taken 7th December, 1411, shows that he had entered upon the castle manor and Lordship of Coity in right of himself and others interested, and states that the same were held of Richard le Despenser (then a minor and ward of the King) " as of his Lordship of Cardiff ". The Lordship of Coyty ultimately came wholly into the possession of the Gamages, descendants of William and Sarah.

By the marriage of Barbara Gamage, the ultimate heiress, with Robert Sydney, second Earl of Leicester, in the time of Queen Elizabeth, Coyty came to the Earls of Leicester (with much other Glamorgan property), and with them it remained until the death of the 7th Earl in 1743, when, after litigation and a compromise, it came into the possession of his natural daughter Anne, who married Henry Streatfield, of Chiddington, Kent. The Earl of Dunraven is the present Lord.

I am not aware whether any documents exist throwing light upon the subject of the administration of this lordship in the times before the passing of the Statute of Henry VIII. Any such would be of special interest as affecting the only " member" lordship not in the hands of the chief lord.

It would be interesting to ascertain what exactly were the rights which the Lords of Coity in fact exercised as distinguished from the lords of ordinary manors.

Llanbleddian, Ruthyn, and Talafan.

I think it convenient to take these three central lordships together, for, although their boundaries as manors for the last three centuries are well ascertained, their early history is very obscure, from the fact that all were, and apparently had been for some time prior to 1245, in the hands of the same lords, the Siwards, and afterwards were in the hands of the Lords of Glamorgan, until Talafan was separated from the rest in the time of Henry VIII, or Edward VI.

As to Ruthyn, it consists in modern times of two portions, known as the higher and lower lordships, lying in the parishes of Llanharan, Llanilid, and St. Mary Hill.

It is certain, however, that Gelligarn, formerly a manor of Neath Abbey, and comprising the remainder of the parish of St. Mary Hill, was within it, and so no doubt was Milton, which belonged to the Order of the Knights of St. John.

The tradition is that in the times immediately succeeding the Conquest Rhys, son of Jestyn, was Lord of Ruthyn, and this receives confirmation from the fact that a charter of King John, 1208, confirmed to Neath Abbey the land (doubtless Gelligarn) which they had of the gift of Rhys, son of Jestyn.

In 1245, it appears to have been under Richard Siward, who is further referred to below, and to have passed, with his other manors of Llanbleddian and Talafan, into the hands of the chief lord. Like those lordships, it is not mentioned at all in the *Extent* of 1262. In 1295, it is put down as worth £1 5s. 8d. In 1314, it is included in the Llantwit return, probably being then administered by the officers of that manor. In 1349, it was valued at £14 3s. 1½d., and in 1375 at £13 10s. 8d. per annum.

As to Llanbleddian, the history is somewhat different. Like Ruthyn, its bounds were formerly of much greater extent than at present. St. Hilary, Llanquian, and Llandough were

certainly in the ancient member lordship, and the same may very probably have been the case with that portion of the parish of Llanbleddian which is now regarded as in Talafan, and Llansannwr, the advowson of the Church of which belonged to Llanbleddian in the time of the last de Clare, but which parish also now forms part of Talafan. I have treated Llanquian on the map as part of Llanbleddian, though perhaps this is not quite consistent with omitting St. Hilary, etc.

The earliest boundaries may well have been still wider than the above remark would indicate. What was the exact nature of the transactions by which the various manors which seem to have been held of the old lordship were severed from it, it would probably be impossible now to ascertain with certainty, nor have we any means of knowing exactly of what the member of Llanbleddian consisted, when it fell into the hands of the chief lord.

There can hardly be any doubt, however, that Llanbleddian formed part of the original conquest. We know that its church was one of those granted by FitzHamon to Tewkesbury, with, it would seem, the chapels of Cowbridge and Welsh St. Donats. Mr. Clark in the *Land of Morgan*, states that the St. Quintin family held Llanbleddian, and the castle is otherwise known as St. Quintin's, though the present building can hardly be of the time of that family for the following reason :—The de Clare inquisitions of 1295 and 1307 make no mention of any castle there, while that of 1314 speaks of one " begun " by the Earl, which fixes the date of the building of the existing castle at from 1307, when the Earl was admitted to possession of his estates, to 1314, when he was killed at Bannockburn. This seems clearly to show that if there was any castle there before it must have fallen into decay. I can find no mention of the St. Quintin's in connection with Glamorgan later than the first quarter of the 13th century.

By 1245, in whatever way this may have come about, Richard Siward, a powerful baron, was Lord of Llanbleddian, Talafan,

and Ruthyn. His castle was that of Talafan, of which ruins still remain. He was accused of levying war in the County against the peace of Earl Richard de Clare, and certain proceedings in the Comitatus or County Court of Glamorgan, before the Sheriff and the Glamorgan Barons, ended in his being outlawed and his lands forfeited. He appealed to the King, but the Earl alleged that the matter belonged to his jurisdiction and had been duly decided. The actual result is wanting, unfortunately, but it would seem that the forfeiture held good, for it does not appear that Siward subsequently had the lordships. As already stated, they are not mentioned at all in the *Extent* of 1262, but in 1295 they were in the hands of the chief lord. According to Mathew Paris, Siward died in 1248.

With regard to the town of Cowbridge, which at the end of the 13th century was second only to Cardiff among the boroughs of Glamorgan, there is much difficulty. One tradition is that FitzHamon retained it in his own hands, but this, considering that it is entirely surrounded by the Lordship of Llanbleddian, seems very unlikely if Llanbleddian was at that early date granted out. Unfortunately, its early charters are missing, and early allusions to the place are very scanty, but, in the absence of direct proof, it does not seem impossible that it was founded by some of the earlier Lords of Llanbleddian. I merely suggest, however, that it seems extremely improbable that, being in a "member" lordship, it was in other hands than those of the lords of that lordship.

As to Talafan, I have already stated what little I know of its earlier history and the reasons which make it impossible now to determine whether its present bounds are those of early times, mixed up as it is in its history and ownership with Llanbleddian.

Talafan was sold either by Henry VIII or Edward VI. to John Thomas Bassett. The *Glamorgan Genealogies* have 1545 as the date, but the MS. *Breviat* of Rice Lewis says it was acquired of Edward VI.

Its devolution afterwards was as follows :—

Elizabeth, daughter of John Thomas Bassett, married Anthony Mansel.

Mary Mansel, their daughter and co-heiress, married Sir Thomas Aubrey, and the lordship thus came to the Aubreys, in whose descendants it remains.

I should add that I think it probable that Caerwigau, forming the south-western portion of Pendoylan, may have been part of the member of Talafan, though now reputed to be a distinct manor.

Ruthyn and Llanbleddian were among the manors granted to Sir William Herbert in 1550.

I have now noticed all those member lordships which were always regarded as such in the strictest sense, and which were for a considerable time in the enjoyment of a greater or less degree of independence. There are, however, some others which, for one cause or another, stood in a different position from ordinary manors, and which it was thought needful to mention specially in the Statute of Henry VIII.

These are LLANWIT, OGMORE, TALYGARN, and LLANDAFF.

Llantwit was and is distinguished as one of the most fertile districts in the vale, and there appears to be some reason to suppose that the Welsh rulers of Glamorgan had a residence at Boverton.

For one or both of these reasons probably, the chief lords appear, from the first conquest, to have kept it in their own hands. Its church and certain lands were granted by FitzHamon to Tewkesbury Abbey, and these lands formed at a later period the so-called manor of West Llantwit, or Abbots Llantwit, a portion of the Stradling estates. There is also, in the western part of Llantwit, the small sub-manor of Llantwit Rawley, formerly held by the Raglan family, but which has been in the possession of the lords of the principal manor since the time of Elizabeth.

In the inquisition of 1314, Llantwit is mentioned together with Ruthyn as constituting " a member " of the County, but from the context I am inclined to think that this merely means that Ruthyn was for some administrative purpose connected with Llantwit rather than that Llantwit was of itself a " member " lordship.

Still, it is a fact that it is mentioned in the Statute of Henry VIII as a district to be added to and thenceforth to form part of the County. In old documents it is sometimes called Boverton or Boviarton, and the present full name of the manor is Boviarton and Llantwit.

It was granted to Sir William Herbert in 1550.

Talygarn or Talagarn presents much difficulty. It is mentioned in the Statute of Henry VIII, but I find no reference to it in the inquisitions. Its lords are said by Rhys Myryke to have been " Lords of tree and pit," that is that they had powers of life and death, but why the lords of so comparatively small an area should have had these privileges I have not been able to ascertain. I think it likely that it remained in the hands of Welsh Lords. Rice Lewis, in his *Breviat*, states that Harry Morgan Lewis purchased the manor, but does not state when or from whom.

Mr. Clark, in a note, *Cartae* V, p. 1833, states that the lordship was held by Jenkins of Hensol, and so passed to the Earls of Shrewsbury, Lords Talbot of Hensol, by whom it was sold to its (then) owner. The then owner was Mr. Clark himself, who was succeeded by his son, Mr. Godfrey Lewis Clark.

Ogmore, the old lordship of the de Londres family, whose ancestor was one of the followers of FitzHamon, was considered as consisting of four knights' fees, held by knight's service. But for the fact of its having become vested in the

Crown, as part of the Duchy of Lancaster estates, I suppose there would have been no occasion to mention it specially in the Statute of Henry VIII, as no doubt it was part of the old County.

The de Londres family, as connected with the Lordship of Ogmore, ended in an heiress, Hawise, who married Sir Patrick de Cadurcis, or Chaworth. He was killed in battle against the Welsh, 1258, and left an heiress, Matilda, who married Henry, Earl of Lancaster, grandson of King Henry III. Their son, Henry, was Duke of Lancaster andfather of Henry IV., King of England. Thus the Lordship of Ogmore came into the possession of the Crown and has so remained. Colwinston is a sub-manor of Ogmore.

In speaking of this Lordship of Ogmore I should mention that the territory shown on the map comprises the parish of Llandyfodwg. Though this has been accounted part of Ogmore for several centuries (probably, at least from the time of Henry VIII), it was no part of the old de Londres lordship.

In the time of the de Clares it was parcel of the County of Glamorgan, under the name of Glynogwr, though not the subject of feudal tenure, but occupied by Welshmen as a " patria Wallensium " directly under the chief lord, somewhat like Kibbor, with which it is often connected by name in the old inquisitions.

When the Lordship of Glamorgan came into the hands of the King, in the time of Richard III, this district, no doubt, came with it, and I think it likely that from being administered with the adjoining portion of the Lordship of Ogmore (Llangeinor) it became in time considered as part of it. This is an explanation which occurs to me. Others may be able to throw more light on the matter. Llandyfodwg certainly was not part of the old Lordship of Ogmore, though probably part of the territory intended to be included under that name in the Statute of Henry VIII, and for that reason I have shown it as part of the lordship on the map.

Llandaff was, of course, the lordship of the Bishop of that See, and the Splott (sometimes described as a manor) was part of it, as were some minor properties in other parts of the County.

The manor of Llandaff was sold by Bishop Anthony Kitchin to George Mathew in 1553, and continued in the Mathew family until 1818, when it was purchased by Sir Samuel Romilly. His successors sold it to Mr. William Sheward Cartwright in 1853, whose grandson is, I believe, the present lord.

CHAPTER III.

HISTORICAL NOTES ON LLANTWIT MAJOR.

It occurred to me when it was proposed to carry out some excavations at Llantwit Major that it might be well to put together a few notes as to the history of the place, not attempting to deal with it fully, but confining myself to such facts as might bear upon the question of what remains might be expected to be found there.

There are traditions that the Emperor Theodosius established a college* there, and it is also stated in the genealogy of Iestyn ap Gurgan, in the Iolo MSS., † that Eurgain, daughter of Caractacus, founded a choir near Llantwit, I suppose at Caer Worgorn, where remains of a Roman house have been found.

I do not think we need attach much importance to these traditions, so far as they relate to a school or college, but they are interesting from the circumstance that they existed at a time when, apart from such legends, no one knew that any remains of Roman date existed at or near Llantwit. It is a curious instance of the way in which tradition is carried on, and how tales of this kind get altered, though founded on fact. It seems very improbable that a school was founded at or near Llantwit by or in the time of either of the Emperors named Theodosius.‡ I need not here enter into the reasons

* Iolo MSS. 1848 Edit., p. 422.

† *Ibid.* p. 343.

‡ Theodosius the Great died 395.
Theodosius II, 408-50, was Emperor of the East.

for this view, but will merely suggest that from a desire to ascribe great antiquity to the later school of Illtyd it may well have happened that legends sprang up which connected it with the Roman remains in the neighbourhood.

For anything of Roman date we should probably have to search at Caer Worgorn rather than at Llantwit itself, for I do not know that anything of the Roman time has ever been found at the latter place. In this I may be in error, but I have not heard of anything of the kind. Of course, the discovery of any such remains would be a matter of great interest, but it is, I suppose, not a thing to be expected. So far as Caer Worgorn is concerned, the partial exploration which took place, now nearly twenty years ago, indicated that the Roman house there was destroyed, with massacre of those who had taken shelter there, in some very early raid, probably of pirates from the sea in the earlier part of the 5th century, and that the place was never again occupied from that day to this. This last fact was abundantly clear, and if there is any truth in the story that the monastery or college of Illtyd was a restoration of any earlier institution it is pretty certain that it was at least at a different place.

Leaving the legends of a college or school of Roman times, we come next to the college and monastery called Saint Illtyd's, whose name strongly suggests the Welsh "Alltud," a foreigner, May it not in fact be derived from that word ? I do not want to dwell at length upon what has been said of him by various authorities, but will only say that to fix his exact date seems to me difficult, if not impossible, as his story is so mixed up with legends about Germanus, Dubricius, and Samson. It has been said that he and Dubricius were contemporary, that the latter was consecrated by Germanus (on the occasion of his first visit to Britain), and that Samson, educated by Illtyd, was himself consecrated by Dubricius. Now, I believe one of the few things considered to be established as to Samson,—

I mean the Bishop of Dol of that name, to whom the narratives in *Liber Landavensis* relate—is that he attended a Council as a Bishop in 557.* Further, it appears to be a matter of authentic history, based upon the authority of Prosper, a contemporary writer, that the first visit of Germanus to Britain took place in 429, or within a year or so of that date. It is, therefore, evident that the accounts which connect Germanus, Samson, and Dubricius in the way I have mentioned, and Dubricius and Samson with Illtyd, cannot be correct. Further, both the *Liber Landavensis* and *Annales Cambriae* record the death of Dubricius as having taken place in 612, more than 180 years after the visit of Germanus, and 55 years after Samson attended the Council referred to. It must be admitted, however, that some authorities place the death of Dubricius much earlier, in 522 or thereabouts, but I have not observed that anything in the nature of evidence is put forward for this earlier date, and to adopt it gets us into great difficulties as to the princes with whom he is alleged to have been contemporary and also, as it seems to me, it is difficult to reconcile with the account which Gildas gives of the state of the Church in his day, though I would not lay too much stress upon this latter argument, for the writings of Gildas are very violent and raise a suspicion that his comprehensive abuse may not have been altogether justified. As to Samson, Bishop of Dol, though I do not feel competent to express any opinion as to the truth or otherwise of the legends which assert his connection with Llantwit, any more than I feel able to fix the exact date of Illtyd, it does appear to me that he has almost certainly been in some histories mixed up with an Abbott Samson of much later date, the Samson of the cross known by his name, to which I propose shortly to refer. As regards Illtyd, if we cannot say at what precise period he lived, there is no reason to doubt that he was the founder of a monastery and church at Llantwit in the early period when it was the custom to name Welsh churches after their founders, and after what we term patron saints.

* Haddan and Stubbs' Councils, &c.

The monastery became celebrated as a college. Of the actual monastery or college of Illtyd, it is not likely that any remains would be found. At the utmost there could be only foundations, difficult to identify, and even such are not likely, as the earliest buildings would probably be of timber. There is the authority of Bede and other evidence to show that British churches were mostly of that material. As to the existence of the monastery at a very early date, the entries as to charters in the *Liber Landavensis* afford evidence which is worthy of being regarded. I have given a good deal of time to the consideration of these documents, and have read what has been said of them by various writers of authority* and learning, and have come to the conclusion that, although they must be read with caution, and though we can by no means accept them as anything like wholly genuine, yet they are in some respects very valuable, and entitled to more weight than some persons whose opinion is entitled to respect have attributed to them. No one ever sat down to invent all these documents, though it appears to me certain that the compiler did alter or add to the ancient materials which existed, and probably invented some of the documents altogether, in the sense that he reduced to writing what may have previously been mere tradition. Further, the grants themselves evidently do not appear in all cases in their right order, and several of them cannot have been made by the Kings by whom and to the Bishops to whom they profess to have been made. For instance, Bishop Oudoceus is made contemporary with Mouric son of Teudiric, Athruis son of Mouric, Morcant son of Athruis, Iudhail son of Morcant, and even (in one case only) with Fernuail and Mouric sons of Iudhail and great-great-grandsons of Mouric. This is evidently impossible, and there are other matters of the same kind, which show that the earlier grants, in particular, cannot be relied upon as anything like accurate. We, in fact, probably owe their existence in their present form to the early 12th century dispute between Bishop Urban and the Bishops of

* Willis Bund, Seebohm, Haddan and Stubbs.

St. David's and Hereford as to the bounds of their respective dioceses, and some of them were probably invented or altered so as to support the Llandaff view, though not necessarily by the compiler himself.† However, with all drawbacks, these records describe real lands and Churches, and are very valuable for many purposes, if used with due caution. I may perhaps venture to say that at present it seems to me that the compiler possessed somewhat better information as to the early princes of Gwent and Morganwg than as to the Bishops. It is possible to compile from the entries in the *Liber Landavensis* a list of princes of those districts, I do not say quite complete or accurate, but for the most part consistent with other authorities, and in itself not contradictory. This cannot be said of the Bishops, for in whatever order we may consider they ought to be placed it cannot be true that all the grants were made both to the Bishops who are said to have received them and also in the time of the Princes to whom they are attributed. This matter requires further investigation, and this is not the place to follow out the arguments which bear upon it.

I have referred to the subject here in order to suggest that though we may take the *Liber Landavensis* as an authority for the existence of Abbots of Llantwit, as well as of Llancarvan and Llandough, from a very early period, we cannot feel sure as to their dates. One or two points may be referred to. The three Abbots are never mentioned in the grants which profess to be of the times of Dubricius or Teilo. They occur first in the time of Oudoceus, supposed to have been the third Bishop, and are referred to afterwards at intervals down to the time of Cerenhir and Nud, whose date may have been about the middle of the 9th century or rather earlier, as they are made by the charters contemporary with Mouric son of Arthfael, Brochuail son of Mouric, and Howel son of Rhys, the two latter (Brochuail and Howel) being named by Asser as contemporary with King Alfred. This is about the period, presumably, of the cross of Howel, at Llantwit, as that cross is said in the inscription to

† His date was probably about 1150.

have been placed by Howel for the soul of his father Rhys. On the cross known as that of Samson, Iudhail and Arthfael are named. Which Iudhail (or Ithel) and which Arthfael are meant may be a matter of some doubt. There was a Iudhail who was the father of Rhys, father of Howel,† and who was living probably in the middle of the 8th century, and another, a great-grandson of the former, who may have been the Ithel, King of Gwent, slain, according to *Annales Cambriae*, in 848. There was an Arthfael, who was either a son or grandson of the 8th century Iudhail, and another who was the son of Howel son of Rhys. I think the first was probably the Arthfael of the cross (if either of the two was), as the latter would probably be somewhat too late. As to the Abbot Samson who erected Samson's cross, the name of Samson appears amongst the clergy as a witness twice in the time of Catguaret, said to have been predecessor of Cerenhir as Bishop. Possibly he may be the person who afterwards became Abbot. At any rate, whoever may have been the Abbot Samson who erected the cross, it seems improbable, if not impossible, that he can be identified with the Bishop of Dol, but must have been some ninth century Abbot. The only Abbot of Llantwit named in the charters in the times of Cerenhir and Nud is Elised, who is mentioned twice in the time of Cerenhir and three times in the time of Nud. After the time of Nud, the references to Abbots cease, but so late as the time of Bishop Joseph (consecrated 1022 and died 1046) the *priests* of Llantwit, Llancarvan, and Llandough are specially mentioned among witnesses. I do not know the reason for this change or how far the priests named in the later documents occupied the position of those called Abbots at an earlier date.

In the year 895 we read in the *Brut y Tywysogion* that the Northmen devastated Morganwg, Gwent, and Gwenllwg. Llantwit may very well have suffered at this time, but apparently, if then destroyed or ravaged, it was restored, for both the *Brut y Tywysogion* and *Annales Cambriae* state that the pagans laid waste Llantwit in 987.

† See note in Owen's Pembrokeshire, Vol. III, p. 272.

There is, in the interval, one record which refers to a college at Llantwit in 959. The *Gwentian Brut* says that in that year Owen, son of Howel the Good, demolished the college because he found Saxon scholars there. It adds that he treated Llancarvan in the same manner, though it does not state that it was for the same reason. This chronicle, unfortunately, cannot be regarded as at all uniformly trustworthy, as it contains a great deal that is certainly untrue, but in this particular matter it receives some support from the *Brut y Tywysogion*, which says that in 958 Owain devastated Gorwenydd, the cantrev in which Llantwit (though not Llancarvan) was situated. The story about the Saxon scholars looks very like one of those additions to history so frequent in the *Gwentian Brut.*

I have not been able to trace anything as to the history of Llantwit during the following century, but whatever may have been the fortunes of the monastery there I think that it is pretty certain that the institution continued in some form at Llantwit, as well as at Llancarvan and possibley at Llandough, down to the conquest by FitzHamon. It is a fact, of course well known to all, that monasteries of various orders, first introduced into Glamorganshire at various dates after this conquest, acquired very large possessions there, but these mainly went to the Cistercian Abbeys, founded at a somewhat later date, such as Margam, Neath, and Caerleon, and that these continued to accumulate lands for many generations through voluntary gifts received both from Englishmen and Welshmen. But with the Benedictine Abbeys endowed by FitzHamon or his followers the case was different. They acquired such possessions as they had in Glamorgan immediately after the first conquest, and practically none later. Such as these possessions were, in or soon after FitzHamon's time, such they remained until the dissolution of the monasteries, and it is remarkable that the principal places where they obtained lands were Llantwit, Llancarvan, and Llandough, the very places handed down by tradition and the *Liber Landavensis* as the sites of the principal

Welsh Monasteries. Tewkesbury had the lands of Llantwit and Llandough, St. Peter's, Gloucester, a large part at least of those of Llancarvan, and, as I have said, those Abbeys had no lands of importance elsewhere in the County.

As to Llantwit, in Mr. Clarke's *Cartae* (Vol. I, p. 133) there is a confirmation charter by Bishop Nicholas, of Llandaff (1153-83), of the Church of Llantwit and Chapel of Lisworney to Tewkesbury, and there is no doubt that from thence to the dissolution of the monastery Tewkesbury continued to hold the Church and tithes, and also certain lands which came to be called the "Manor" of West Llantwit, or Abbot's Llantwit, which was granted by Henry VIII to Edward Stradling, 30 August, 1543. It was purchased for £183 13s. 9d., and stated in the grant to be worth £7 6s. 5d. per annum. I had hoped that the *Annals of Tewkesbury*, a chronicle kept at the Abbey during mediaeval times, coming down to 1263, and which was printed some time ago under the authority of the Master of the Rolls, might contain some indication as to the residence of monks at Llantwit or the maintenance of a school there. It has, however, only the allusions to Llantwit which I will presently mention, and I think it clear that there never was any Priory there, as at Cardiff.

As has been shown by Mr. Halliday, in his paper in the *Archaeologia Cambrensis* on the discoveries made during those recent restorations which he has so admirably carried out, and by Mr. Rodger, in the paper lately read by him on the same subject, considerable sums must have been laid out upon the Church in the 13th and 14th centuries, but the *Annals* make no reference to such works. They do, however, contain some entries which are of sufficient interest to be referred to. Under date 1230, the death of William, parson of "Landerwich'" is mentioned. I have no doubt at all that this refers to Llantwit, and I think it very likely the word in the original was Landerwith, as in writing of this period "t" may be easily taken for "c." After a few sentences dealing with other matters, the

record proceeds (as I translate it) :—" On Saint Michael's day we received seisin of the Church of Landirwit,* namely, that moiety which William late the parson there held, there having been many disputes between him and the Welsh, namely, between Peter then Abbot of Tewkesbury and certain persons who wished that a brother of the said William and his kin should succeed him by hereditary right, as is the custom with the Welsh. But it (the Church) having been at length given up by all those claiming by such a right, we gave it to farm to the brother of the said William for eleven marks† yearly, but we retained a certain chapel adjoining the said Church in token of our possession. So that if the said farmer shall not pay his rent he shall lose it for ever. Such was the statement to us in our chapter."

This arrangement differed considerably from the ordinary course, which, I believe, was that the monastery having the rectory of a Church would take the revenue, paying the Vicar a stipend. Here, apparently as a compromise, the Vicar was to take the revenues, paying the Abbey a rent. The meaning of the passage as regards the actual buildings is not perhaps very clear. It seems to me that the Vicar had half the Church, and the monks the other half, and, in addition, a chapel adjoining the Vicar's portion of the Church. Other arrangements may well have been made afterwards.

Whatever the exact facts may have been, there would seem from what took place, to have been at least some monks in residence to use their part of the Church and the Chapel. I may state the custom that a relation should succeed or that the rectory of a Church should be regarded as the right of a particular family was well known among the Welsh, and is dealt with in Mr. Willis Bund's book on the *Celtic Church*.‡ One portion of the *Liber Landavensis*, containing particulars of the

* This is the spelling in this place.

† £7 6s. 8d.

‡ Also referred to by Giraldus and others.

clergy stated to have been admitted to livings by Bishop Herwald, contains several instances where they were sons of their predecessors. It does seem somewhat strange, however, that the Welsh inhabitants should have had the amount of influence which they appear in fact to have possessed, for although Llantwit seems to have been brought under English control as early as any part of the County, it is certain from this incident that there must have been a substantial Welsh population, and that their wishes could not easily be disregarded. It is one of many indications which make me think that there was not that constant and universal hostility between the Welsh and Normans or English that is often assumed. The time was that of Gilbert de Clare, the first of that name to rule the Glamorgan Lordship. He died just about the period of the settlement of the controversy, namely, 25th October, 1230.

I do not know of any means of ascertaining whether there was a large proportion of English inhabitants at that time, but 65 years later, in 1295, the names of the Llantwit jury who took the inquisition on the death of this Earl's grandson are English. I may add that in 1248 a fresh arrangement was made with the Vicar, whether or not the same as the " farmer " of 1230 does not appear, under which the Vicar was to have the whole income (except tithes of corn and hay) and all the tithe of Lisworney. No doubt, this was a more beneficial bargain for the Vicar than the former one. There are no further entries in the *Tewkesbury Annals* relating to Llantwit. That a school of some kind would be maintained there seems highly probable, but, on the other hand, it can hardly have been anything of the same nature or have had anything like the importance of the college of Illtyd and his successors.

The *Gwentian Brut*, indeed, states that Robert Consul restored " Cor Illtyd." This, as I have said, is not a good authority, but it is right to say that in the same passage it states that he founded Margam, which is, of course, a fact. There may, perhaps, be some other record of what he did at Llantwit,

but I do not know of any such. Llantwit, that is, the principal manor, was always kept by the Chief Lord in his own hands. The Lord had large demesne lands there, cultivated in the times when that system was in force, by numerous tenants, who had a large area of land in their own occupation.

Some idea of the relative importance of the place as early as 1184–85 may be gathered from the account of the custodian, the Lordship being then in the King's hands on account of the death of William, Earl of Gloucester, in 1183. The account seems to cover a period of half a year. The receipt for Cardiff was £24, Roath 16s. 1d., Kenfig £5 19s. 11d., Leckwith 17s. 6d., Llantwit £14 19s. 11d. The *Extent* of 1262 gives far more detailed information. We know that then the Lord held 565 acres of arable land, 14 of meadow, and 147 of pasture (in all, 726 acres), and the pasture of a grove called Coytlou.* There were a garden and a dovecote, I think probably at Boverton.

The rent of free tenants, that is, freeholders, paying what we now call chief rents, came to £11 8s. 4½d. Customary tenants held 2,115 acres of land. There was a market and fair, and the whole value, including the value of tenants' works, is estimated at £109 5s. 1¼d., of course a very large sum in those days. The Lordship of Cardiff at this time was put at £97.

The account in the inquisition taken in 1295 shows that there were :—

	Acres.	
Free tenants	33 holding	800 acres.
Free cottars	156	
Bond cottars	120	
Customary tenants	136	„ 1,877 „
In hands of the Lord, formerly occupied by customary tenants	„	229 „
Demesne, arable	565	
Coydlow and Wildmoor ..	14	756 acres.
Pasture	177	

Besides some other pasture at places not named.

* Since corrupted into "Colhugh," though its usual pronunciation in the district still closely follows the *Liber Land.* form *Collou.*

There were, therefore, 2,862 acres in the hands of the Lord and his tenants, and 435 persons occupying lands or houses under him. There were in addition the Abbey lands, the area of which I do not know, and there would be some persons holding under the Abbey, and under the free tenants, and with such a population there must have been some smiths, carpenters, and members of other trades. With the families of these persons, I think we may fairly conclude that the population in 1295 can hardly have been short of 2,000, and may well have been greater, as compared with 1,113 according to the census of 1901. The area of the parish is 5,120 statute acres, but the old acreages may be underestimated, and it appears probable that the parish was then as fully cultivated as it is now, and that there was but little waste ground.

Llantwit was apparently in no way fortified, nor is there any mention of a castle there, though there was a " manerium " or manor-house. Perhaps the number of inhabitants, and its remoteness from any districts under Welsh Lords, may have been sufficient protection. It suffered to some extent from the rising of 1295, but apparently not from that of Llewelyn Bren.

From the amount of land under cultivation, we can see that there was occasion for a large tithe barn, such as existed until recently. All this, however, does not throw much light on the question whether there was a college in mediaeval times, unless the fact that it was evidently a large centre of population, and that the monks of Tewkesbury had important interests in the place may be thought to render it probable that they would maintain a school there.

There is one item of information, though of much later date than the times I have been speaking of, which I do not wish to pass over. In Williams's *History of Monmouthshire*, published 1796, there is, in the Appendix, a memorandum written by the Rev. David Nicholl in 1792 which says, speaking of the Llantwit school or college :—" We do not find any mention of the time

when it became extinct, but we may well think that it remained until the Reformation, for there was a School, time out of mind, then at Llantwit for educating youth in Latin learning and logic that was maintained by a portion of the Church profits and by the Abbot's rents that were sold to one of my ancestors, and in whose family they still remain."

Further on he says:—"Some say that the beginning of Cowbridge School was from Llantwit, but all this is dark and uncertain. The ruins of the school of St. Illtutus are to be seen at this day behind the Church hard by, and the monastery halls and buildings stood in a small field west of the school where some ruins are still appearing."

As there may well have been remains above ground a century ago which do not now appear, and as the writer would no doubt be well acquainted with Llantwit traditions, I have thought it well to quote the above extracts from his letter or memorandum.

It will be observed he speaks of a school at the Reformation, as if it were a matter well known, and which no doubt existed.

On the other hand, it has been pointed out to me that the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, temp. Hen. VIII (1535), contains among the outgoings of Llantwit no reference to the expenses of any school.

If the cost of such formed an actual charge upon the revenues, it seems almost certain that some reference to the fact must have appeared.

Besides this, Mr. Nicholl's statement is quite erroneous in its reference to the "Abbot's rents." These were not rents of the Abbot's lands, as might be supposed. They belonged to the Abbey of Neath, not Tewkesbury, and were given by the Gilbert de Clare who died in 1295 to that Abbey in exchange for lands at Neath. They can hardly, by any possibility, have been charged with any payment towards a Llantwit school.*

* Certainly not by the original grant.

Perhaps the foundation of the tradition mentioned by Mr. Nicholl may be that in truth the Tewkesbury monks, without being compelled to do so, did keep up some school at Llantwit, and if so the circumstances that it was voluntary might account for no mention of it appearing in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, and it would not be unlikely that a story might afterwards grow up that they were in some way bound to keep it.

If such a school existed, the want occasioned by its being given up might well have something to do with the establishment of Cowbridge School, but all this is mere speculation. The fact remains that I have failed to find any actual evidence of the existence of a monastic school at Llantwit.

Excavation in the field near the Church might throw some light upon the question, as it would probably show the nature of the monastic buildings, and it might lead to even more interesting discoveries.† In conclusion, I can only express my regret that I have been able to find so little bearing upon the relations of Tewkesbury Abbey with Llantwit.

I am sure we should all be much obliged to any one who could point out any source from which further information on that subject could be derived.

† In 1912 and later, excavations undertaken by Mr. J. W. Rodger in one of the two fields west of the church revealed foundations of old buildings which were considered to be contemporary with the Gate House, Tithe Barn, and Dove Cot, all assigned to the thirteenth century. It is suggested they may be the working offices of a large establishment, the residential portion of which may be discovered in the adjoining field (not available for excavation). No written record exists as to their founder and purpose (*Arch. Camb.*, 1915, p. 141). D. R. P.

CHAPTER IV.

DINASPOWYS.

I have not been able to find any satisfactory evidence as to the derivation of the name Dinaspowys. It is, of course, evidently Welsh, and no doubt older than the Norman conquest of the Vale. The version of the *Brut y Tywysogion* known as the *Gwentian*, printed in the *Myvyrian Archaeology* and attributed to Caradoc of Llancarvan (though in the form in which we have it, it contains much that cannot have been written by him or in his time), states that Jestyn ap Gwrgan married the daughter of Bleddyn ap Cynfyn, Prince of Powys, and, having received from Gwrgan what was known as Cwmmwd Tref Essyllt, built a castle which he called Denis Powys.

The authority of this chronicle is, I believe, worth very little, and I only mention what it says because, as we all know, it appears to be the history upon which nearly all those who have at different times written accounts of the conquest of Glamorgan have been content to rely.

That FitzHamon over-ran and subdued the Vale of Glamorgan in the reign of Rufus is no doubt true, but if we wish to ascertain, so far as the scanty materials allow us to ascertain, who aided him in that conquest we must not accept without testing them the statements in the *Gwentian Brut*, or we shall certainly be misled. In that chronicle, Maes Essylt, by which I suppose Dinaspowys Lordship to be meant, is said to have been held by Robert ap Seisyllt after the Conquest. This appears to me improbable, but if it was the case in fact that Dinaspowys remained for a time in Welsh hands this must have been a state of things which very soon came to an end.

Whether the de Someri or Sumeri family, of whose very early possession of Dinaspowys we have evidence, obtained the Lordship in the time of FitzHamon is not clear, but it seems probable that such was the case, for, although not referred to at all in the *Gwentian Brut* or those later histories (Rice Merrick's for instance) which are founded upon it, their presence is proved at a date very closely following. If the Charter of Robert de Haia to Glastonbury (*Cartae*, I, p. 38) is genuine, it shows that a Roger de Sumeri, who attests it, was contemporary with FitzHamon. At *Cartae*, I, p. 163, there is printed a Harley Charter by Adam de Sumeri and his two sons, John and Roger, to Margam Abbey, of 20s. yearly out of the rent of the mill of the moor, "molendinum de mora." This is not dated, but is followed (*Cartae*, I, p. 177) by a Charter of Adam de Sumeri junior, son of Roger, by which he confirms a grant by his wife Milisant to Margam. This was in the time of William de Saltmarsh, Bishop of Llandaff, 1185-1191, and shows that the grant of the earlier Adam (grandfather of the Adam of 1185) must have been of much earlier date, probably of the first half of the 12th century. Roger de Sumeri, father of the second Adam and son of the first, was presumably the person whose name appears in the *Liber Niger* of the Exchequer as holding, in 1166, seven fees under William, Earl of Gloucester.

In the time of Henry, Bishop of Llandaff, 1193-1218, a Ralph de Sumeri wrote to the Bishop referring to the above-mentioned grant out of the rent of the mill as having been made by his grandfather Adam and his sons (not named) "whose heir I am." This looks as if Ralph was a son of either John or Roger, and perhaps a brother of the second Adam, whom he may have succeeded. There was, however, a Milo de Sumeri shown by the Pipe Roll to have held $3\frac{1}{2}$ fees (probably Dinaspowys) in 1202. In what relation he stood to the others named is not clear. Ralph, who wrote to the Bishop, refers to the mill as "in marisco," and it must have been either that at Cadoxton, a sub-manor of Dinaspowys, or else, which is

not so likely, some other mill which has ceased to exist. Ralph directs that the Abbey shall receive the rent annually at his Castle of Dinaspowys, and increases it to 24s. It was to be paid until the monks should have in exchange land to the value of 24s. The rent continued to be paid until the middle of the 15th century, as shown by ministers' accounts of the time of Henry VI, and no doubt down to the dissolution of the Abbey. From the letter or notification of Ralph de Sumeri to Bishop Henry, we have direct evidence of the existence of the Castle at Dinaspowys late in the 12th or very early in the 13th century, and there seems every reason to believe that it was one of the earliest Norman castles built in the district. In the *Land of Morgan,* the late Mr. Clark describes it as of doubtful date, referring of course, to the portion now remaining, but elsewhere he says that it is no doubt Norman, and this accords with the documentary evidence, though it is, of course, quite possible that there was an earlier Welsh fortress on the site.

We have seen that the de Sumeris were, in all probability, among the original conquerors, and it may be mentioned that this is confirmed by the wide extent of their possessions, for the Lordship of Dinaspowys in the earlier days certainly comprised not only the large parish of Saint Andrew, but also Cadoxton-juxta-Barry, Merthyr Dwfan, Michaelston-le-Pit, Highlight, and possibly Cogan and portions of other parishes. Cadoxton, Highlight, and Michaelston were throughout, and still are, sub-manors of Dinaspowys, and it seems to me possible that the de Sumeris may also at one time have held St. Nicholas, but this at present is no more than a surmise.* They also held a small manor in Llanedeyrn parish, and doubtless this was the property which occasioned a mandate of Henry II, directing payment of tithe to Tewkesbury, to be addressed to Roger de Sumeri and others having lands in Kibbor (*Cartae*, I, p. 140). This was probably issued soon after the

* See note *infra* p. 119.

death of William, Earl of Gloucester, in 1183, when the Lordship of Glamorgan was in the King's hands. The de Sumeris were also Lords of Dudley, which place was probably their principal possession and chief seat, and this fact, as Mr. Clark has pointed out, probably accounts for their having taken (as he considers was the case) but little part in the local affairs of Glamorgan, though several members of the family appear as witnesses to Glamorgan charters, and occasionally as attending the comitatus or County Court. Thus, besides those already mentioned, we have a William, who attests a grant by Morgan son of Owen, which must be of earlier date than 1205, as it was confirmed by King John in that year (*Cartae* I, p. 296). It cannot be much earlier, as shown by the names of the witnesses and sureties. A William also appears as a witness to a dated charter of 1230 (*Cartae*, II, p. 472), and to other documents between 1200 and 1230, or some of them perhaps rather later. A Ralph, who does not appear elsewhere, attests a document (*Cartae*, I, p. 274), which from the names of the witnesses cannot be much earlier than 1262, but he may probably have been a younger member of the family, and not Lord of Dinaspowys. A Robert de Sumeri, who no doubt was Lord, attends a sitting of the comitatus in 1249 (*Cartae*, II, p. 565). He is styled "Dominus" and "Miles," and his name appears among those of well-known holders of Glamorgan manors. The same person, probably, was a juror on the *Extent* of 1262 (*Cartae*, II, p. 650). There cannot be much doubt that he lived, at any rate, sometimes, in the district, for his name appears as a witness to ten different deeds of about this period, which grant to members of the de Reigny family lands in Dinaspowys, Michaelston-le-Pit, and Llandough. The de Reignys seem to have been landowners in Glamorgan from an early period, but about the middle of the 13th century were considerable purchasers of lands, chiefly small parcels in these parishes, and their purchase deeds, printed in the *Cartae*, are of great interest, as they contain a large collection of local names of places, many of

which have now disappeared or become much altered. They were Lords of Michaelston, held under Dinaspowys, and of Wrinston in Wenvoe parish, held in 1262 of the chief Lord. To return to the de Sumeris, we find Robert again at the County Court in 1266 (*Cartae*, II, p. 685), and we next have a Roger, who may have been either a son or brother of Robert, and his successor. He attested a confirmation to Margam by Richard de Clare (*Cartae*, II, p. 464) which must have been prior to 1258, as Stephen Baucen (slain in that year) was a witness. He was probably the same as the Roger de Sumeri who was one of the magnates appointed at Kenilworth in 1266 to settle the terms upon which persons who had been in arms against the King might redeem their lands, and who, in 1267, was deputed by the King, together with Hugh Turbervill, to investigate disputes between Llewelyn, Prince of Wales, and Gilbert de Clare (*Cartae*, II, p. 686). What he actually did in this matter is not known. He must have died within a few years, because in 1275 Matilda, widow of Richard de Clare, granted to Aline, Countess of Norfolk, the manor of Dinaspowys (in the possession of Matilda in wardship), which had belonged to Roger de Sumeri, until his son Roger should be of full age.

We now come to matters of which there is more full and authentic history.

Roger, son of Roger, under age in 1275, is said in Mr. Clark's *Genealogies* to have been aged 18 at his father's death in 1 Edward I (1272-1273). He died 19 Edward I (1290-1291), leaving a son John, who succeeded him, and another son Roger (o.s.p.), and two daughters, Margaret and Joan. John de Someri is mentioned as holding Dinaspowys in the inquisitions on the deaths of Joan de Clare, 1307, and Gilbert de Clare, 1314, and also in the writ of 1317 directing delivery of a share of the de Clare lands to Hugh le Despenser. John, the last of the de Someri name, died 1321-1322, leaving his two sisters his co-heiresses. Joan married Thomas de Botetourt, and

Margaret married John Sutton, each having a moiety of Dinaspowys. John Sutton was summoned to Parliament as Lord of Dudley. Thomas de Botetourt, husband of Joanna, is stated in Cokayne's *Complete Peerage* to have died in 1322, leaving a son, John, who died in 1385, having had a son, also named John, who died in his lifetime in 1369, and a daughter, who married Lord Burnell, and died (s.p.) in 1406. In the I.P.M. of Hugh le Despenser, 1349, John Sutton and John Buttourt (Botetourt) are described as holding Dinaspowys, but in the I.P.M. of Edward le Despenser, 1375, though Richard de Dudleye (no doubt Richard Sutton of Dudley) appears, the other holders, five in number, are persons, doubtless feoffees in trust, who at the time held varous manors on behalf of the Chief Lord. That they so held a moiety (the former Botetourt moiety) of Dinaspowys is confirmed by an extant ministers' account for 1373-1374, showing it to have been in the hands of the Chief Lord at that time. That the Suttons continued to hold their moiety is shown by an I.P.M. on the death of Isabella de Sutton, 1401, and by other evidence.

How the other moiety came into the hands of the Chief Lord, while John de Botetourt was still living, is not clear; possibly by purchase or exchange. We know that Hugh le Despenser acquired Sully by exchange from the de Avene family. Throughout the 15th century one moiety remained in the Sutton family. As regards the other moiety, ministers' accounts show that during the reign of Henry VI (as we have seen was the case at the time of the death of Edward le Despenser), it was in the hands of the Chief Lord, or persons holding for or under him, and the same continued to be the case when, after the death of Richard III and the transactions following thereupon, the Lordship of Glamorgan had come into the hands of King Henry VII, and was granted by him to Jasper, Duke of Bedford, afterwards returning to the King on Jasper's death. However, it may be noted that Rice Lewis,

writing 1594-1600, states that a moiety came to the King (Henry VII) by the attainder of Lord Audley. This was James Touchet, Lord Audley, who, in the time of Henry VII (1497), headed a rising of Cornish rebels, and was defeated at Blackheath and beheaded. If, in fact, Lord Audley had this moiety of Dinaspowys, it can only have been in his possession for a very short time. In 6 Henry VIII (1514-1516) a lease of the Crown moiety was granted to Sir Mathew Cradock, and between that time and 1529, when he made his will, Sir Mathew purchased the Sutton moiety. Sir Mathew was grandfather of Sir George Herbert and of Sir William, afterwards Earl of Pembroke, to whom, as is well known, King Edward VI granted the Lordship of Cardiff, and most of the Glamorgan manors then belonging to the King, but not the moiety of Dinaspowys. The Sutton moiety, which had been purchased by Cradock, was left by him to his elder grandson, Sir George Herbert, and from him descended to his grandson, Sir William Herbert, eldest son of Matthew Herbert, eldest son of Sir George, who had died in the lifetime of the latter. Sir George Herbert died in 1570. In 1600 his grandson, Sir William Herbert, purchased the Crown moiety of Queen Elizabeth, and thus the whole manor, which had been held in moieties since the failure of the male line of the de Someris, was in his hands. This state of things, however, did not continue long, for Sir William died 24th August, 1609, leaving no issue, and on his death litigation took place between his brother, Sir John Herbert, and two nephews, both named William, sons respectively of Nicholas and Richard, brothers of Sir John and Sir William, who alleged that Sir William had made a will in their favour.* The litigation seems to have ended in a compromise, under which the nephews obtained certain parts of the large property in dispute. On the death of Sir John Herbert in 1617, William Herbert, son of Nicholas, took that moiety of Dinaspowys which had been purchased from the

* Sir William and Sir John are the Herberts whose tomb, with their recumbent figures, is in St. John's Church, Cardiff.

Crown, while Mary, daughter of Sir John Herbert, wife of Sir William Doddington, had the other. Thus the manor, which had been divided for some 280 years, and only united for about nine years in the hands of Sir William Herbert, became again divided, and has been so ever since. Sir William Doddington and his wife had a son John, who left a son Edward, who died without issue, and two daughters, Ann and Catherine, co-heiresses of their brother. The moiety of Dinaspowys fell to Ann's share. She married Robert, Lord Brooke, and their descendant was, in 1759, created Earl of Warwick. This moiety was purchased in 1765 by Mr. William Hurst, and was left by him to his nephew, Henry Lee, great grandfather of General Lee, the present owner. The other moiety remained in the Herbert family until the male line of that branch failed early in the eighteenth century, when, after much dispute and litigation, and a compromise sanctioned by a private Act of Parliament, this moiety, with other Herbert estates, came in right of their wives† to Herbert Hurst and Calvert Richard Jones, and was sold in 1790 to Mr. Peter Birt, of Wenvoe, from whom it came to the Jenner family.

Such is shortly the history of the title to the Manor of Dinaspowys.

The fact that Henry II directed Roger de Sumeri and others holding lands in Kibbor to pay their title to Tewkesbury has already been referred to as indicating that at that early date the Lords of Dinaspowys already held the small manor in Llanedeyrn parish, which we know to have been for a long period in the hands of the Lords of Dinaspowys. It is referred to in an inquisition on the death of John de Sutton in 1330, and in several later documents relating to Dinaspowys. The manor seems, like Dinaspowys, to have been divided on the failure of the main line of the de Someris, and to have been united in the hands of Sir William Herbert in the time of Queen Elizabeth, but I have not found any clear indication that

† These ladies claimed as co-heirs of Thomas Herbert, who died in infancy, in 1740.

any share of it, in the arrangements made after his death, went to the Doddingtons. How this may have been I am not sure, but the whole of it appears to have come into the possession of Mr. William Hurst, and afterwards passed to Mr. Henry Lee, who sold it to the Tyntes of Cefn Mably.

Mention has been made of sub-manors held under Dinaspowys, and no doubt originally forming part of that Lordship. Of these, Cadoxton-juxta-Barry annualy paid "wardsilver" 13s. 4d. I have not been able to ascertain when the sub-manor was first created or who were its earliest Lords. In a note in his *Cartae*, etc. (IV., p. 1509), Mr. Clark says, speaking of a witness to a document of 1423, Robert Andrew, that there was a family of that name Lords of Cadoxton, of which he may have been a member. Other evidence shows that there was long a family known as Andrew or Andrews at Cadoxton, whether Lords of the sub-manor or not. Rice Lewis, writing 1596-1600, states that Sir John Popham then held Cadoxton, having purchased it of Sir William Herbert of St. Julians. According to an original document of 1611, relating to Dinaspowys, the payment which had long been made yearly under the name of the "ward of Cadoxton" by the Lords of that manor to the Lord of Dinaspowys was at that time paid in the following proportions :—

	s.	d.
Francis Popham, Knt. ..	5	10
Nicholas Andrewe	7	1
Elizabeth Morgan	0	5
	13	4

This does not necessarily mean that the manor was divided, though no doubt the demesne lands were. The Pophams appear to have sold the manor of Cadoxton to the family of Thomas of Wenvoe, and Sir Edmund Thomas sold it to Mr. Birt in 1775. From him it came to the Jenner family.

Highlight was held under Dinaspowys by the St. John family, and Michaelston by the de Reignys.

I have thought it best to keep this short history of the manor and its belongings continuous, but will now return to the extant ministers' accounts of the time when a moiety of the manor was in the hands of the Chief Lord, which are interesting in various ways.

The first is an account of Robert Elys, reeve of the manor, from Michaelmas, 1373, to Michaelmas, 1374. It is very short, and shows a total receipt of £28 16s. 1d., which would be in respect of the moiety in the hands of the Chief Lord.

It may here be mentioned that in the *Extent* of Glamorgan made in or about 1262, soon after the death of Richard de Clare, the estimated value of the Lordship of Dinaspowys, held by the service of 3½ knights' fees, is put at £60. No doubt, this was only a rough estimate, but if it represented anything like the fact it would seem that the value had not altered much in about 110 years. However, that is a question which may have been affected by the Black Death in 1349. We have no very clear evidence to what extent that great pestilence affected this district, but there is no reason to doubt that it did so, and it may well be that but for it, the value of a moiety of the manor in 1374 would have been considerably greater. The sum of 11s. 8d. is charged as paid for ward of the Castle of Cardiff. This is the very ancient payment (probably dating from as early as the reign of Henry II) made by each of the lords of the older manors of the County, at the rate of 6s. 8d. in respect of each knight's fee. The total for Dinaspowys was £1 3s. 4d., the other 11s. 8d. being paid then by the Suttons, Lords of Dudley. It is a somewhat curious fact that at this period, although a manor or share of a manor might be in the Chief Lord's hands, yet the custom of making this payment was nevertheless kept up. The reeve paid it to the Lord's receiver, and deducted it in his own accounts.

There are not any works of tenants mentioned, such as appear in most manorial accounts of this period, or payments in lieu thereof, except 15d. received in lieu of certain works of reaping from customary tenants "of Sully," the meaning of which is not very clear, for it is not obvious why tenants of Sully should owe service to the Lord of Dinaspowys. The payment of 12s. to Margam Abbey is referred to. This was the moiety of 24s., the grant of which by Adam de Someri, about 200 years before, has already been mentioned. The other 12s. was no doubt paid by the Suttons.

Passing from this account to those of the time of King Henry VI, we find the accounts then rendered in greater detail.

In these the absence of any payment in lieu of tenant's works under that name is accounted for, because it is said that they are charged under the name of rent of assize or chief rents. This shows that actual performance of works by the tenants had long come to an end, and been commuted into a money payment.

It also shows incidentally what was the origin of some of those small payments commonly known as chief rents. Others probably originated in the substitution of a money payment for renders formerly made in kind.

There is a sum of 8d. received from Walter Kyngull, a bondman of the Lord, for permission to dwell out of the Lordship.

The gross total in this account is £24 11s. 11½d., representing, it will be remembered, a moiety only, though as to this I shall have to make some observations later.

One item in this account is of particular interest, as it concerns what was apparently the original construction of the mill known as Dinaspowys mill, just below the Castle, which was in operation until quite recent years, though no doubt rebuilt since the date of the account.

The total cost in money was £8 6s. 0½d., but the wood was obtained from the Lord's wood called Dinaspowys Wood. I may refer to some of the principal payments which were made. To Llewellyn Hopper, carpenter, for the carpentry work of the mill and mill house, including sawing the timber, £2 6s. 8d. At that time the daily wages of a carpenter, as we know from other accounts, would be 6d. per day, so this represents the wages of one man for something over 90 days.

There was paid to Thomas Norman and three partners or assistants for hauling 27 loads timber, with their teams of oxen, 7s.

The masonry work cost 20s.

Another item is for food and drink for 102 men working by way of what was called "boon" work, without wages, but receiving food only, in helping the carpenter with the timber, 7s. 7d. I think this may have included felling the timber, but the entry is not quite clear.

John Wylly and 32 assistants received in food and drink for work about the site of the mill and mill pond, 6s.

Probably these large numbers of men worked only for a short time, but their entertainment in food and drink does not seem to have been excessive, though perhaps sufficient, having regard to the value of money at that time. I have sometimes felt doubt whether the expressions as to 102 or 32 different men mean that they actually worked together, or whether the numbers represent days' work of some less number. It is rather difficult to see how 102 men could be usefully employed in dealing with timber which only came to 27 loads.

Thomas Lewis and John Warren, for conveying two millstones from Aberthaw, with their waggons and teams of oxen, received 5s. The millstones cost £1 6s. 8d., which seems a somewhat large amount, especially as they do not

seem to have been ready for use, as William Hoell had 6s. 8d. for perforating and otherwise completing and fixing them. No doubt they were brought by sea to Aberthaw.

There are other items for various details of iron work, nails, pitch, thatching, etc., but nothing for quarrying or hauling stone. The account for the previous year is not extant, and it has occurred to me that some of the expenses of this work might appear in it. Even if we take the purchasing power of money at that time to have been 20 times as great as at present it seems difficult to suppose that a complete mill and house could have been constructed for about £8.

The mill was completed and put to work at Midsummer, 1426.

The old account of the time of Edward III, which I have mentioned, contains no reference to any mill, though it is curious that a manor like Dinaspowys should have got on without one until 1426.

I have referred to the accounts being for a moiety only, but it should not be understood from this that the whole of the rents were divided. It seems rather to have been the practice for one Lord to take the whole rent of some tenants, and the other Lord that of others, while the profits and expenses of the mill were divided.

There is never any reference to any expenses connected with the castle, and it would seem practically certain that it had fallen into decay or was being allowed to do so. There is no evidence that after the de Someri's days any of the owners lived in the district. There exist various other accounts for nine or ten years in all, the latest being for 1455-1456.

It may be interesting to add a few words as to the value of the manor at different times.

In 1262, as we have seen, it was roughly estimated at £60, in 1374 £28 odd was received from a moiety, or about £56 for the whole. In the years from 1426 to 1455 there was no

great change, the receipts being very regular and representing about £50 to £52 per annum for the whole. In 1492, the moiety yielded £27 3s. 11½d. In a rental of Sir George Herbert of 1545, it is put down at £34 2s. 5d., though it should be mentioned that this meant the other moiety, that which had never been in the hands of the Chief Lord.

In 1610, in consequence of the dispute which arose on the death of Sir William Herbert, a valuation of both shares was made, with the result that the value of the Chief Lord's share (which Sir William had purchased of Queen Elizabeth) was stated to be £26 4s. 10d., while that of the other share was £35 5s. 1½d.

This shows, of course, that the actual rents were not divided, and, as it must be assumed that in the first place the division was intended to be equal, either one party got the better of the other in the original bargain, or that more attention had been paid to making the most of that share which had been in the hands of private owners, than in the case of that which belonged to the Chief Lord, a thing in itself not improbable. It is certainly curious to notice how very stationary the value was through the long period from 1375 (if not even from 1262) to 1610.

CHAPTER V.

A FIFTEENTH CENTURY CORONER'S ACCOUNT FOR GLAMORGAN.

Amongst the extant documents relating to the old Lordship of Glamorgan, which have not been published or printed, there are some throwing light upon a subject upon which but little authentic information exists, I mean the local institutions and government of the County before the Statute of Henry VIII abolished the Marcher jurisdictions and introduced the English law.

Among these are two or three Coroners' accounts of the 15th century, and I have thought it might be of interest to read to you a translation which I have made of one of them, adding a few notes by the way of explanation or illustration of its contents.

The Coroner was an officer who discharged duties which resembled in some respects those of an undersheriff at the present day, rather than those which we now associate with the office of coroner. He and his officers attended the sittings of the monthly Comitatus or County Court, in order to execute its judgments, but he does not appear to have presided there in the absence of the Sheriff. That duty was performed by a deputy or locum tenens of the Sheriff. Some of his duties, besides enforcing payment of moneys due under judgments of the County Court, were to get in the proceeds of the sales of goods of felons and outlaws, to collect some miscellaneous rents or dues which did not come within the jurisdiction of the chief officers of any of the Lord's manors, and to receive the ancient payments called castle ward-silver, due from the lords

of all the older manors held directly of the Chief Lord. Another thing which he and his officers had to do was to perform certain police duties with respect to keeping order at various fairs held in the County, and the protection of persons going to and from them. Rhys Myryke, p. 32, says that the coroner did in effect those offices that the sheriff, coroner, and escheator do " at this day " (meaning the time at which he wrote, c. 1580). He adds that the coroner was yearly chosen by election of the suitors (i.e., of the County Court), they naming three, whereof the Lord or Sheriff picked one. He also adds that it was a necessary qualification of a coroner that he should hold some land in Kibbor. He says he does not know the origin of this, but describes it as a privilege granted to that district. He also refers to the two bailiffs of West Thawe and East Thawe.

In performing his various duties the coroner had the assistance of four principal bailiffs, those of East Thawe, West Thawe, Kibbor, and Glynogwr. East Thawe and West Thawe meant, as their names imply, those districts, east and west respectively of the Thawe river, which were for the most part occupied by manors held under the Chief Lord. Each of these Lords of Manors had his own manor court for dealing with domestic and minor matters arising within his manor, important matters with which the manor court could not deal coming before the County Court. The Chief Lord's bailiffs had nothing to do with these manors, except to receive the payments due from their lords to the Chief Lord and in certain other respects to look after his interests within those districts. The bailiffs of Kibbor and Glynogwr must have had analogous duties to perform within those territories, though there was there no ward-silver or other incident of feudal tenure. Both those districts in the sense in which they are here spoken of, were outside the bounds of any feudal manor or lordship, whether of the Chief Lord himself or others holding of him. Kibbor certainly contained manors, Roath, Llystalybont, and the monastic manor of Roath Keynsham, but no doubt when the Bailiff of

Kibbor is spoken of, the Welsh "patria" of Kibbor is meant, and this was occupied, like Glynogwr, by Welshmen holding freely of the Chief Lord, and owing no service except suit of court.

Besides these, the Lordship of Glamorgan comprised a considerable territory with which, at least as receivers of money, the Coroner and his officers had nothing to do. These were the great member lordships of Senghenydd, Miscin, Glynrhondda, Llanbleddian, Talyvan, Ruthin, Tir-y-Iarll, Avan, and Neath, all at this time in the hands of the Chief Lord, and Coyty, which was also a member lordship, but at no time belonged directly to the chief lord, though, of course, held by him.

In these lordships, speaking generally, the bedells were the accountable officers, while in the boroughs of Cardiff, Cowbridge, Llantrisant, Caerphilly, Aberavon, Kenfig, and Neath their Bailiffs or Portreeves performed the duties.

I propose now to read a translation of the Coroner's account for 1425-26, and then a few observations upon its contents.

County. (1425-26) Account of Robert Mathewe Coroner there from the feast of Saint Michael in the fourth year of the reign of King Henry the Sixth after the conquest until the same feast of Saint Michael in the fifth year of the reign of the same King Henry namely during one whole year.

Arrears. Item he answers as to £149 15s. 6½d. received of arrears of the last account there of the year preceding as appears at the foot of the same account.

Sum £149 15s. 6½d.

Rent of Assize. And as to 3d. received of rent of Arun ap Hoell of the term of Easter by the bailiff of Eastthawe. And as to 2s. received of rent of Roger Berkerowles for lands which he bought of Phillip Nerber at the feast of the Nativity of Saint John the Baptist by the bailiff of Westthawe. And as to 2s. 8d. received of rent of Phillip Flemynge at Constantoneswalle at the same term by the bailiff of Westthawe. And as to 6d. received of rent of Wladys Seward for her lands at Marthelmaure at the term of Saint Michael by the bailiff of Westthawe. And as to 3s. 1½d. received of Lavernock at the same term by the bailiff of Eastthawe. And as to 17s. 0½d. received of new

rent and increased rent of divers tenements the names of which appear in the account of the fortieth year of the reign of King Edward the Third after the conquest and in many years preceding at the same term by the bailiff of Kebor.

			s.	d.
Sum 25s. 7d.	Whereof by	Eastthawe	3	4½
		Westthawe ..	5	2
		Kybor	17	0½

Rent of Wards (Nov. 30).

And as to 13s. 4d. received of the Ward of Cogan for two Knights' fees at the term of Saint Andrew the Apostle by the bailiff of Eastthawe. And as to 23s. 4d. received of the Ward of Dynaspowes for two Knights' fees at the same term by the bailiff of Eastthawe. And as to 3s. 4d. received of the Ward of Wryngeston for half a Knight's fee at the same term by the bailiff of Eastthawe. And as to 13s. 4d. received of the Ward of Wenfo for two (6 Dec.) Knights' fees at the term of Saint Nicholas by the bailiff of Eastthawe. And as to 3s. 4d. received of the Ward of Llanryryd for half a Knight's fee at the same term by the bailiff of Eastthawe. And as to 13s. 4d. received of the Ward of Pethlyne and Llanvyhangell as is said for two Knights' fees at the term of the Purification of the Blessed (2 Feb.) Mary by the bailiff of Westthawe. And as to 6s. 8d. received of the Ward of Llandowh for one Knight's fee at the First Sunday of Lent by the bailiff of Westthawe. And as to 6s. 8d. received of the Ward of Llannemeys for one Knight's fee at the same term by the bailiff of Westthawe. And as to 6s. 8d. received of the Ward of Llandowe for one Knight's fee at the same term by the bailiff of Westthawe. And as to 6s. 8d. received of St. Donat for one Knight's fee at the same term by the bailiff of Westthawe. And as to 6s. 8d. received of the Ward of Marcros for one Knight's fee at the same term by the bailiff of Westthawe. And as to 6s. 8d. received of the Ward of Marthelmaure at the feast of Saint Tylyaye at the same term by the bailiff of Westthawe. And 26s. 8d. of the Ward of Oggemore for four Knights' fees on the day of (14 Sep.) the Adoration of the Cross nothing because the said Lordship is in the hand of the Lord King by the bailiff of Westthawe. But he answers as to 20d. received of the Ward of Newton for a fourth part of a Knight's fee at the term of hockeday by the bailiff of Westthawe. And as to 6s. 8d. received of the Ward of Llangewy for one Knight's fee at the same term by the bailiff of Westthawe. And as to 6s. 8d. received of the Ward of St. Fagans for one Knight's fee at the same term by the bailiff of Eastthawe. And as to 26s. 8d. received of the Ward of Saint Tathana (29 June) for four Knights' fees at the term of the Apostles Peter and Paul by the bailiff of Westthawe. And as to 6s. 8d. received of the Ward of Sully for one Knight's fee at the same term by the bailiff of Eastthawe. And as to 6s. 8d. received of the Ward of Coychurche for one Knight's fee at the same term by the bailiff of Eastthawe. And as to

(Aug. 15). 13s. 4d. received of the Ward of Penmarke for two Knights' fees at the feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Mary by the bailiff of Eastthawe. And as to 20s. received of the Ward of St. Nicholas for two Knights' fees at
(29 Sept.). the term of Saint Michael by the bailiff of Eastthawe. And as to 13s. 4d. received of the Ward of Penmark for two
(27 June). Knights' fees at the feast of the Apostles Peter and Paul by the bailiff of Eastthawe.

Sum £10 11s. 8d.

		£	s.	d.
Whereof by	Eastthawe ..	6	3	4
	Westthawe ..	4	8	4

Issues. And as to 2s. 6d. received of the issues of three messuages five acres one rood of land two acres of meadow and 12 acres of waste formerly of Griffith Hagar forfeited sold yearly by the bailiff of Glynnok. And as to 4s. 6d. received of the issues of 3 messuages five acres of land one acre of meadow and nine acres of waste formerly of Patta Duye on account of forfeiture by the said bailiff. And as to 4d. received of the issues of one acre of land formerly of Rees ap Phillip sold by the said bailiff. And as to 3s. received of the moiety of one messuage one acre of land one rood of meadow 2 acres and 3 roods of waste formerly of Ievan Cotta sold by the said bailiff. And 4s. of the fifth part of one mill in Glynnogur which part Wlades Gethyne took for herself and coparceners nothing because it is ruinous and broken down on account of want of repair by the said bailiff. But he answers as to 4d. received of one acre of waste formerly of Madok ap Gr. in Kybor late demised to Grono ap Kendleowe sold by the bailiff of Kebor. And the issues of the toll of the pix in Glynnogur which used to be sold for 13s. 4d. nothing because it is within the lordship of the King so that no one was willing to buy or farm the said toll.

		£	s.	d.
Sum 11s. 2d. Whereof by	Glynnogur ..	0	10	10
	Kebor ..	0	0	4

Approvement of land extended. And as to 5s. received of increased rent of Ievan ap Trahayron for certain parcels of extended land called Kay Barry within the lordship of Kebore so demised to him for the term of his life and all other services and customs therefor before due by accord of exchequer of this year to be paid at the usual terms as in the said record is further particularly specified.*

of new extent yet it used to be by the old extent

Sum 5s. by Kebor.

Perquisites of Courts. And as to £41 17s. 4d. received of perquisites of 11 County Courts held there this year as appears by the rolls of the same.

Sum £41 17s. 4d.

Sum total with arrears £204 6s. 3½d.

* Blank in original.

Necessary costs, with vesture of the Coroner.

Out of which he accounts in allowance for one vesture towards the feast of the Lord's Nativity on account of his office yearly 13s. 4d. by the bailiff of Westthawe. And in expenses of the Coroner himself and his officers being for 11 days at 11 County Courts taking per day 12d.; 11s. by the bailiff of Eastthawe. And in parchment bought as well for the suit rolls of Glamorgan as for attachments of under bailiffs of the aforesaid Coroner now accounting at 11 County Courts together with the wage of the Clerk writing the said attachments and suit rolls of the said County Courts at each day of the said County Court 8d. as appears by the said particulars 7s. 4d. by the bailiff of Eastthawe. And in expenses of the aforesaid Robert Mathewe Coroner and of others being with him at the fair (6 Nov.) of Newcastle on the day of St. Leonard falling within the time of the account for the safeguarding of the said fair 12d. by the bailiff of Westthawe. And in expenses of the aforesaid Coroner and others being with him at the fair of St. Nicholas falling within the time of the account for the safeguarding of the said fair 12d. by the bailiff of Westthawe. And in expenses of the aforesaid Coroner and others being with him at the fair in Newcastle aforesaid on the day of the Ascension of the Lord falling within the time of the account for the safeguarding of the said fair 12d. by the bailiff of Westthawe. And in the expenses of the aforesaid Coroner and others being with him for the safe- (Aug. 15). guarding of the fair of Saint Mary Hill on the day of the Assumption of the Blessed Mary falling within the time of the account as appears by particulars made thereof and examined upon this account containing 12d. by the bailiff of Westthawe. And in expenses of the aforesaid Coroner (May 6). and others being with him upon the safeguarding of the fair of Newton Notasshe on the day of St. John before the Latin gate falling within the limit of this account as appears by the said particulars 12d. by the bailiff of Westthawe. And in the expenses of the aforesaid Coroner and others (Aug. 10). being with him at Borleton on the day of St. Lawrence for safeguarding the fair there as appears by the said particulars 12d. by the bailiff of Eastthawe. And in the expenses of the aforesaid Coroner and others being with him at Redeshete upon the safeguarding of the ways for divers men being at the fair of Ewenny for 6 days as appears by the said particulars 3s. by the bailiff of Eastthawe. And in the expenses of the said Coroner and others being with him upon the safe conduct of divers felons taken within the lordship of the Lord Earl this year in different parts of the same lordship, namely Mc. ap Thayron hanged John Willy Owen ap David Gruftu, John Symnet David Andrewe John Wyllot Llewelyn ap Howell ap Ievan ap Mc. Willym ap Ievan ap David Lloyd Ievan ap Phe. David Gethyn Ievan ap Ph. Thomas Pyers Ievan Melyn ap Oweyn and David Abraham as is contained by the particulars thereof made and examined upon this account 15s.
Sum 56s. 4d.

Payment of moneys.

And he accounts the payment to William Boteller Constable of the Lord's Castle of Cardiff as well as Receiver of the moneys of the same Lord there of the arrears of the tenants of the Lord Earl of the lordships of Senghenith subtus and supra of the remainder of £66 13s. 4d. of certain judgment rendered by them wrongly and reversed by the suitors of the County Court at the suit of Ievan ap David by roll of the County Court of the fourth year preceding — 5s. 4d.

One talley remains

And to the same Receiver of arrears of Lewis Mathewe late Coroner there — 6s. 8d.

One talley remains

And to the same Receiver of arrears of William Shadelynge last Coroner there — £7 6s. 1½d.

Three tallies remain whereof the first contains 32s. 9d. the second £4, the third 33s. 4½d.

And to the same Receiver by the hand of Robert Mathewe Coroner there now accounting as well in respect of his arrears as on account of new issues of his office this year £87 15s. 1d.

40 tallies remain whereof the 1st contains £4 6s. 8d.; 2nd, 26s. 8d.; 3rd, 100s.; 4th, 50s.; 5th, 33s. 4d.; 6th, 20s.; 7th, 18s. 8d.; 8th, 28s.; 9th, £20; 10th, 26s. 8d.; 11th, 20s.; 12th, 47s. 5d.; 13th, 20s.; 14th, 40s.; 15th, 40s.; 16th, 30s.; 17th, 51s. 8d.; 18th, 60s.; 19th, 40s.; 20th, 40s. 8d.; 21st, 26s. 8d.; 22nd, 3s. 4d.; 23rd, 20s.; 24th, 26s. 8d.; 25th, 13s. 4d.; 26th, 10s.; 27th, 10s.; 28th, 20s.; 29th, 25s.; 30th, 35s.; 31st, 40s.; 32nd, 53s. 4d.; 33rd, 20s.; 34th, 40s.; 35th, 32s.; 36th 20s.; 37th, 20s.; 38th, 40s.; 39th, £4 and 40th, 40s.

And to the same Receiver of arrears of Thomas Watkyne and his associates for the debt of Robert Mathewe late Coroner there by record of the exchequer in the second year preceding 23s. 4d. Two tallies remain of which one contains 2s. and the other 21s. 4d.

Sum £96 16s. 6½d.

Sum allowed and paid £99 12s. 10½d.

There are due £104 13s. 5d. of which there is allowed to the same accountant 10s. 6d. of divers disallowances for divers causes above made in this account, afterwards upon better examination thereof made before the council of the lord and by consideration of the said council and auditor for this time allowed together with 3s. 4d., allowed Ievan ap Ivor one of the sub-bailiffs of the said coroner being at Penmarke as for 6 days in this year in autumn about the custody of divers goods of one Thomas Wrono

a felon who feloniously slew Ievan ap Grono Dewe and upon which felony he withdrew himself and his said goods were forfeited to the lord by roll of the County (Court) of this year, which goods are valued at* 103s. 11d. which are to be charged to the next account wherefor Howell Carne approver of the lord is to answer therefor.

* To be remembered towards the next account by the approver.

And there are owing £104 2s. 11d.

Whereof upon

The tenants of the lordships of the Lord Earl of Senghenith subtus and supra of the remainder of £66 3s. 4d. of a certain erroneous judgment given by them and reversed by the suitors of the County (Court) at the suit of William ap David according to the roll of the County (Court) of the fourth year preceding William Stradelynge the last Coroner there of the remainder of £100 charged upon all the suitors of the whole County of Glamorgan and Morgan by a certain judgment given by them in a variance between the lady Countess while she was sole and Robert Mathewe as is contained among the rolls of the said County (Court) of the 4th year preceding. — 6s.

£70 3s. 4d.

Robert Matthewe Coroner there now accounting. — £33 13s. 7d.

Value this year £51 14s. 5d.

Robert Matthew the accounting officer was second son, according to *Glamorgan Genealogies*, of Matthew ap Evan ap Griffith Gethin. This Matthew was the ancestor of the Matthews of Llandaff, and Robert and his brothers were the first who adopted the name Matthew as a surname, an early instance of abandoning the Welsh custom with regard to names. Robert Matthew himself was ancestor of the Matthews of Castell-y-Mynach, in whose family that place remained until their ultimate heiress Cecil Matthew married Charles Talbot, afterwards Lord Chancellor, early in the 18th century.

The small items of assize or quit rents received by the Coroner's officers are not easy to account for, and I have not been able to think of any satisfactory explanation which applies to all of them. Ordinarily rents of this kind would be paid for lands situate in some manor, and would be paid to the lord

of the manor, and, if the manor happened to be in the hands of the Chief Lord, would be paid to the reeve or bedell, not to the Coroner. Some of them may represent lands severed by alienation from the manors of which they had formed part, and so, by virtue of the Statute of " quia emptores " held directly of the Chief Lord. Others, particularly those received by the Bailiff of Kibbor, may have been received for lands formerly held by Welshmen never forming part of any manor, and which had come into the Chief Lord's hands by escheat or forfeiture. The small amount of these payments seems to indicate that they were out of the ordinary course.

The item called " Rent of wards " is of considerable interest, because, taken with other returns contained in various older documents, it throws light upon the arrangements made upon the original conquest of Glamorgan. The payments constitute the very ancient custom of ward-silver or payments for Castle-guard, to the Lord of Cardiff, by the lords of all the older manors held directly of him, and were at the rate of 6s. 8d. for each knight's fee. These payments were originally instituted at least as early as the reign of Henry II, and probably earlier, for there is strong evidence that the lands in respect of which they were payable were granted out, and the service due from them fixed upon, or very soon after, the conquest by FitzHamon. The facts which indicate that this was so are the following.

The extent of the Lordship of Glamorgan, made on the death of Richard de Clare, 1262, more than 160 years before the date of this account, shows that there were then 36 fees, half fee and quarter fee paying ward-silver, the amount being £12 5s. 0d. These do not represent all the fees held by Knights' service, but they do represent all of what was called " the old feoffment." The others in respect of which ward-silver was not paid were held in 1262 by persons described as " noviter feoffati," or newly enfeoffed, which must mean newly as compared with the others.

The old fees in 1262 paid, in all, £12 5s. 0d., and in the Coroner's account the amount is still the same less some deductions which can easily be accounted for. The actual amount is £10 11s. 8d., or £1 13s. 4d. less than the £12 5s. 0d. This is accounted for by £1 6s. 8d. for the four fees of Ogmore, not paid because that lordship was in possession of the King, and 6s. 8d. for Cosmeston, which was in the possession of the Chief Lord himself.

The amount did not for that reason actually go unpaid, but it was paid directly by the reeve of Cosmeston, and not through the Coroner. Why this should have been so I do not know, because in the case of other manors which were then also in the hands of the Chief Lord (Sully for instance) the money was paid to the Coroner's bailiff. In either case, so far as the Chief Lord was concerned, it was payment from one pocket to another, probably done to keep up the custom in case of the manors being granted out again.

In this Coroner's account, the names of the manors and the amounts paid for each correspond exactly with those of 1262.

Going back still earlier, to a return made in 1165 to King Henry II of the Knights' fees held of William, Earl of Gloucester, contained in the *Liber Niger* of the Exchequer, these again are divided into fees of the old feoffment and new feoffment respectively, and the *Liber Niger* shows that the old feoffment meant fees that were existing in the time of Henry I, and therefore within a period of not more than 28 years, at the outside, after the death of FitzHamon. It is not possible actually to identify all the fees in the *Liber Niger* return with those mentioned in 1262, because in the *Liber Niger* only the names of the holders of the fees and numbers of the fees held by them appear, and not names of the fees, and the question is further complicated by the circumstances that several of the families held fees not only in Glamorgan but also others in England, and where this was the case the holdings are not distinguished.

However, there are to be found in the *Liber Niger* the names of at least 12 holders who between them held 25 out of the 36½ and quarter fees of 1262, so that these families are shown to have held them soon after FitzHamon's time, and in most cases were probably among his actual followers. Of the others mentioned in 1262, but not named in the *Liber Niger*, the absence of the names from that record is probably in some instances due to the fact that some families had not acquired, so early as 1165, the territorial surnames by which they were afterwards known.

For instance, no de Sully is mentioned in the *Liber Niger*, yet, from various known facts, there can hardly be any doubt that the family afterwards known as de Sully (a name which first appears about 1200) held the property in 1165.

I may mention in passing that this is one item of evidence to show that the de Sullys of Sully derived their name from the place, and not the place from them.

The names which appear in *Liber Niger*, with the totals of the fees held by them and the fees in Glamorgan held by the same families in 1262, are as follows :—

Liber Niger, 1165.		Extent of 1262.	
Names.	No. fees.	Place.	No. fees Glam.
Jordanus Sorus (Le Sore) ..	15	St. Fagans	1
Gilbertus de Umfravill ..	9	Penmark	4
Adam de Sumeri	7	Dinaspowys	3½
Willelmus de Lond. (Londres)	4	Ogmore	4
Willelmus de Nerbert ..	4	St. Athan or Aberthaw	4
Rogerus de Wint (Winton) ..	1	Llandow	1
Willelmus de Cardi (Cardiff)	½	Llantrithyd	1½
Lucas Pincerna Regis (Butler)	1	St. Donats	1
Milo de Cogan	2	Cogan	2
Robertus Norrensis (Norreys)	2	Penllin	2
Robertus de Constantino ..	1	Cosmeston	1
Ricardus Walensis (Walsh) ..	1	Llandough	1
			25

It will be seen that the names and the number of fees correspond, except in the first three cases, to those of 1262. As to these three cases, there is no doubt that the Le Sores held fees of the Earl of Gloucester in Somerset and Gloucestershire, and an inquisition of 1296 shows that the number of these fees was 14. It is safe to assume that their fifteenth fee was St. Fagans in Glamorgan.

As regards the Umfravills, holding nine fees at the time of *Liber Niger*, we know from the same inquisition of 1296 that five of these were at Lapford in Dorset, the remaining four no doubt representing their holding at Penmark. As to de Sumeri or Someri of Dinas-powys the case is somewhat different. I have not been able to find that the family held anything under the Earls of Gloucester outside Glamorgan, and the inference would be that their holding there was greater at the date of *Liber Niger* than in 1262. I hardly like to mention what is only a conjecture, but I think it possible that at the earlier date the de Someris may have held the half fee of Wrinstone adjoining Dinas-powys and the three fees of St. Nicholas, the latter held in 1262 by William Corbet.* No Corbet appears in the *Liber Niger* as holding anything under the Earl of Gloucester, and I therefore think it clear that some other family must have then held St. Nicholas. If we take it (as is all but certain) that the three fees of St. Nicholas and half fee of Wrinstone (whether held by the de Someris or not) and also the de Sully holdings

* In two charters of the latter half of the twelfth century Milisant daughter and heiress of William Mitdehorguill granted lands on Turbernesdune and in St. Nicholas to Margam Abbey (*Cartæ*, Vol. II, pp. 389 and 390). Her father must, therefore, have held St. Nicholas or some share of it, though he is not mentioned in *Liber Niger*. One of the charters giving rights of pasture (*communem pasturam totius pheudi mei de Sancto Nicholao*) shows that she held the fee of St. Nicholas at that time. A further charter (*Cartæ*, Vol. I, p. 177) by Adam son of Roger de Sumeri confirms the gifts of his wife Milisant to Margam, and internal evidence makes it probable that she was the Milisant of the first-mentioned charters, one of the witnesses being her uncle Richard, son of Matildis. Adam de Sumeri may have held the fee in right of his wife and this may be the reason why St. Nicholas was reckoned, at least for a time, among the de Sumeri fees. D. R. P.

(in all four fees in Sully, Wenvoe, and Coychurch) are in fact included in the *Liber* this would leave only $4\frac{1}{4}$ of the fees mentioned in 1262 unaccounted for, namely :—

Marcross	1
Llanmaes	1
Llangewy	1
Merthyr Mawr	1
Newton Nottage	$\frac{1}{4}$

Something might be said as to each of these, but it would unduly lengthen this paper to discuss fully what is known of them.

The point to which I desired to direct attention is the very early date and long continuance of the manorial divisions, and the evidence they afford as to the rapid, complete, and lasting nature of the conquest of the vale country of Glamorgan, as well as proving that it was to the vale alone that this first conquest effectually extended.

There next follow in the account certain small sums received in respect of some forfeited or escheated lands formerly held by Welsh tenants of Glynogwr or Kibbor, and an interesting entry as to what is called the " toll of the pix " in Glynogwr, from which nothing was received, the reason stated being " because it is within the lordship of the King so that no one was willing to buy or farm the said toll." This last passage seems to point to some claim that the toll of the pix in Glynogwr pertained to the lordship of Ogmore, then in the hands of the King, not in right of the Crown, but as Duke of Lancaster, which had been the state of things since Henry, Duke of Lancaster, became King as Henry VI. It is certainly the fact that Glynogwr is now, and for centuries has been, treated as part of the Lordship of Ogmore, but it did not form part of the old de Londres lordship which had descended to the Dukes of Lancaster. It frequently appears in the inquisitions on deaths of Lords of Glamorgan as occupied by free Welshmen, and in this Coroner's

account the Bailiff of Glynogwr accounts for rent in that district. Whatever dispute there may have been about it would be set at rest when in the time of Richard III the King had become possessed of the Lordship of Glamorgan as well as the Duchy of Lancaster. Glynogwr was administered with and came to be considered as part of the Duchy lands, though clearly not so originally.

The toll of the pix was pretty general throughout the Lordship of Glamorgan, though it seems probable that the inhabitants of Kibbor were free from it. In the hill districts it was 1d. from every householder not holding directly of the Chief Lord. In Senghenydd it was commuted for a payment of 40s. per annum. In Llantwit and throughout the vale in the time of Queen Elizabeth it was 2d. from each householder. It was the same payment as is called in some documents the chence or cense. It included also some small payments, the amount of which does not appear, in respect of ferry boats, mills, and inns. It was collected in the time of Elizabeth, though in an incomplete fashion, and probably was already becoming obsolete. It must always have been an unpopular exaction, and change in the value of money would in time make it not worth collecting.

The next entry commences the list of expenses for which the Coroner sought allowance, and these include items for keeping guard at different fairs. The fairs at which the attendance of the Coroner and his officers was required certainly did not include all or nearly all held within the County. They were :— Newcastle, two fairs ; St. Nicholas, St. Mary Hill, Newton Nottage, Worleton (Duffryn St. Nicholas), and Ewenny.

The object seems to have been to prevent robberies from persons going to and from the fairs. It is to be noted that for this work in relation to the fairs the Coroner, in this, as well as in other accounts, seems always to have claimed more than he was in fact allowed, for the figure originally inserted is always

struck out and a smaller sum inserted above. In the case of attending the fairs he usually claimed 3s. 4d., while the amount allowed was 1s. The same is the case with other expenses, showing that the accounts were strictly audited. In this account the Coroner seems to have claimed £4 9s. 7d. in all, while the amount allowed was £2 16s. 4d. However, it seems that on further consideration 10s. 6d. was allowed in respect of these disallowances, so that the nett result was that about a fourth of what he claimed was finally disallowed.

The entry as to the £66 13s. 4d. (100 marks) which the tenants of Senghenydd had to pay for a wrongful judgment in the court of that lordship confirms what Rhys Myryke says as to appeals to the County Court from those of the member lordships, and also as to the suitors, who were the judges, being punished by fine for wrong judgments, though his statement does not agree as to amount, as he says the inhabitants were amerced 100 shillings apiece. It is to be hoped the fine was confined to those who were parties to the judgment.

It does not appear whether Ievan ap David (the name is William ap David in the second place where the matter is referred to) received anything for the wrong done to him, whatever it was. Presumably there was deemed to be something corrupt or wrongful in the judgment, and not a mere mistake.

The meaning of the last entry in the list of arrears I do not clearly understand. Why the County Court should have charged £100 upon all suitors of the County in a case between the Countess and Robert Matthew is a difficulty which I have yet to try to solve.

I may mention that at the time of the account the lord was Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, in right of his wife the Countess Isabella, daughter of Thomas le Despenser. They

were married in 1423, the lady having previously married her husband's cousin, Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Worcester, who had died 14th April, 1422.

The later Coroner's accounts are to the same effect as this. They afford the means of correcting some of the clerical errors in this account, and some things here wrongly written are correct in the others.

CHAPTER VI.

HISTORICAL REFERENCES TO CARDIFF.

The following notes do not purport to be in any sense a history of Cardiff, but are merely an attempt to record, in chronological order, some facts connected with the town, gathered from various documents.

Though Cardiff was no doubt a Roman station, it seems probable from the small area within which Roman remains have been found, and the paucity of those remains, that such importance as it may then have had was in Roman times rather that of a fortress than a town.

It is further worthy of note that, although several places in the neighbourhood are mentioned in the *Liber Landavensis*, the name of Cardiff does not appear in documents the originals of which were earlier than the Norman conquest. However, by the time of Jestyn ap Gwrgan, the Prince who was expelled by FitzHamon, the place appears to have become a seat of government, and FitzHamon at once adopted it as the capital of his new lordship.

The *Annals of Margam* state under date 1081 that the town of Cardiff was built in that year under King William the first. These *Annals* are believed to have been compiled during the 13th century, and the statement just referred to may be founded on fact, and refer to some considerable rebuilding or extension of the town under Jestyn or FitzHamon. Before dealing with matters subsequent to the Norman conquest, one or two of the early grants set forth in the *Liber Landavensis* may be mentioned.

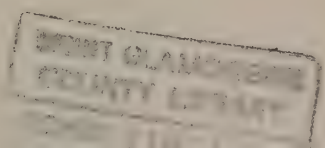
A grant (L.L. p. 255), ascribed to the time of Bishop Joseph (according to Browne Willis, 1022-1046), gives to the Bishop " tref eliau inseghenid " (Senghenydd) or " the vill of the sons of Quichtrit." The boundaries are described thus :— " from the Weun as far as the sea in length from Tref Licotuc as far as Tref Tecan in breadth." Though these two last names have not been identified, this document shows that Senghenydd was considered as extending to the sea, including, in fact, the commote of Kibbor. The grant must refer to some land between the mouths of the rivers Taff and Rumney, and may have consisted of or included the Splott, which was certainly held of the Bishops in later times. The copy of the grant in the *Liber Landavensis* is in a handwriting attributed by Mr. Evans to about 1150.

A Bull of Pope Honorius II (W1128) mentions among the possessions of Llandaff " Tref meibion guichtrit " (L.L. p. 32). Another of the same Pope (1129) refers to " Tref meibion uchtrit " (L.L. p. 43).

Gabalfa is also named in the *Liber Landavensis* as Coupalua (L.L. p. 151). The grant is headed " Coupalua penniporth. Vill of Greguri that is the vill of the five sons of Ourdeuin on the bank of Tam " (sic), and the body of the document states that Bishop Oudoceus received from Gwedguen the son of Brochmail " the vill of Greguri which is called Coupalua upon the bank of Taf ".

" Tref meibion ourdeuein " is mentioned in the Papal Bulls before referred to.

In the life of Saint Oudoceus (L.L. p. 133) it is stated that the Church of Llandaff possessed the whole of the territory between Taff and Ely below " Gungleis " (the Gwynles brook, at the northern boundary of the modern parish of Whitchurch) as far as the sea. Either this statement was exaggerated or the Bishops must have been deprived of or parted with a large portion of their lands at a later date, though they retained



very considerable possessions within the limits named, constituting the lordship or manor of Llandaff. Another grant (L.L. p. 257) headed " Riu Brein " shows that the western portion of the Cefn Onn ridge, including the site on which Castell Coch was afterwards built, was given to Llandaff, as also the third part of the wood Ynis Peithan, which seems to have been in the northern part of Llanishen parish.

From various references in the *Liber Landavensis* to an " Abbas Docunni " it would seem that there was a monastery at Llandough, and the name Album Monasterium, applied in mediaeval times to Whitchurch, seems to point to an old Welsh Monastery there. From the documents and facts above referred to, it appears probable that at the time of the Norman conquest a large proportion of the land in the immediate neighbourhood of Cardiff may have been in the possession of the Church.

Whether FitzHamon granted any special privileges or immunities to Cardiff is not known, but it was described as " a borough " in his time, for in 1106 King Henry I confirmed amongst other grants of FitzHamon to Tewkesbury " the parish Church of Saint Mary in the borough of Cardiff " and the tithes of " all the demesne rents of the borough." (*Cartae*, p. 39). FitzHamon was a great benefactor of Tewkesbury, probably at the expense of the Welsh Church.

The only extant charter by him is the grant to that Abbey of an arm of the Taff for making fisheries and a meadow near " the water of Saint Mary " (*Cartae*, I, p. 37).

The charter of King Henry already referred to mentions amongst FitzHamon's grants thereby confirmed, in addition to the church of Saint Mary, the village of Llandough, the church of Llantwit, and the tithes of the whole Lordship which FitzHamon had in Wales. FitzHamon, having died in 1107, was succeeded after an interval, of the history of which little or

nothing is known, by Robert Consul, Earl of Gloucester, a natural son of King Henry I by (according to tradition) Nest, daughter of Rhys ap Tewdwr. Robert Consul was Lord from 1118 (or perhaps somewhat earlier) to 1147, and was undoubtedly the most eminent of the Lords of Cardiff. He appears to have adopted a conciliatory policy towards his Welsh subjects, and doubtless much was done in his time towards the settlement of the government. He is believed to have built the keep of Cardiff Castle, the mound on which it stands being probably of earlier date. He is said also to have built a castle at Llantrissant, and to his time Mr. Clark ascribes the older portions of the castles of Sully, Fonmon, Castleton, Dunraven, and Ogmore.

In 1126 the Earl entered into an important agreement with Urban, Bishop of Llandaff, for settling disputes and defining their respective jurisdictions. (L.L. p. 27). This shows that the portreeve (prepositus) of Cardiff was then an important officer, for it provides that if a man of the Earl chose to acknowledge that he held land of the Church and that he was willing to give it up to the Bishop, before the Earl, or his sheriff, or the portreeve of Cardiff, he was to be at liberty to do so.

It may perhaps be considered that this provision somewhat confirms the statement made by some authors (Browne Willis for instance) that the Bishopric had been despoiled of some of its lands by the Normans.

The agreement also contains a provision that men of the fee of the Bishop might in times of peace carry on buying and selling at Llandaff. This may possibly refer to some exclusive privilege which had been claimed for Cardiff.

In this same year, 1126, Robert, Duke of Normandy, was brought from Devizes to Cardiff Castle. He died there 1134 (*Annals of Margam*).

In 1129, Richard de Granville and Constance his wife founded Neath Abbey, Earl Robert confirming the charter (*Cartae*, I, p. 74).

In 1147, the year of his death, the Earl founded Margam Abbey. It may here be remarked that the Cistercians, to which order Neath, Margam, and Caerleon belonged, appear to have been more popular in Glamorgan than any other order. They, especially at Margam, received from time to time large grants of land not only from the Normans or English, but also from Welsh chieftains and landowners, though Welshmen occasionally attacked and burnt their granges and committed depredations upon their sheep and cattle.

About this period as well as later the name of Cardiff was frequently used for that of the Lordship. Thus, in a grant to Glastonbury by Robert de Haia, which Mr. Clark ascribes to circa 1102 (but which was, perhaps, somewhat later) William Sheriff of Cardiff is mentioned (*Cartae*, I, p. 38). A Bull of Pope Calixtus II, 1119-1124, also mentions William, Sheriff of Cardiff (Cairti), probably the person named in de Haia's grant. In the agreement of 1126 before mentioned Radulphus, Sheriff of Cardiff, is named.

In 1136 took place a great Welsh rising, which, for a time, met with considerable success in Gower. Giraldus Cambrensis mentions a great victory gained by the Welsh over the English between the rivers Neath and Lochor. It does not appear, however, that this rising affected Cardiff or its neighbourhood.

On the death of Earl Robert, which took place at Bristol, October, 1147, he was succeeded by his son William, who ruled till 1183. He was less successful than his father in dealing with the Welshmen of his lordship and probably less disposed to respect their liberties and customs. Frequent disturbances in his time are recorded in the *Annals of Margam*, and in the year 1158 Ivor Bach, the Welsh Lord of Senghenydd,

attacked Cardiff Castle by night, took prisoners the Earl and his Countess and their young son Robert, and compelled the Earl to restore some rights of which he had been deprived.

In or about 1169 Earl William founded Keynsham Abbey at the request of his son Robert, who was then ill and died shortly after. He was buried there, as was also the Earl himself.

A charter of Earl William to Neath known by an inspeximus of Thomas le Despenser (*Cartae*, IV, p. 1418), is of interest, because in it the Earl grants to the burgesses of Neath "all the liberties and customs which my burgesses of Kardiffe have throughout all my boroughs of England and Wales," etc. This indicates that the chartered rights and privileges of the Burgesses of Cardiff were already well-known and recognised.

Another Charter grants to the Church of the Blessed Mary and the Blessed Martyr Thomas, which he had built at Cardiff, ten shillings of his yearly rents from the new borough which he had made where his garden was outside the town of Cardiff (*Cartae*, I, p. 104). This is an early instance of a dedication to Saint Thomas a Becket, murdered in 1171. It also seems to indicate that the town was increasing at the time. It has been suggested that this grant probably referred to a rebuilding and rededication of the parish church of Saint Mary, but it is to be noted that the confirmation by Bishop Nicholas to Tewkesbury (*Cartae*, I, p. 133), mentions a Chapel of Saint Thomas.

A document from the cartulary of Saint Peter's, Gloucester, is witnessed by William, Earl of Gloucester, and the whole County (Court) of Cardiff (*Cartae*, I, p. 100). The date (1146) must, however, be erroneous. A quit-claim by Leuuar ap Meruit in the time of Nicholas, Bishop of Llandaff, 1149-83, was before Rodbert, Sheriff of Cardiff, "and the whole Welsh hundred of the County of Margan." It is said to have been confirmed "in full County (Court) of Cardiff" and ends with the names of

several of the Norman holders of knights' fees, as well as a number of Welsh names. It would seem that the Comitatus or County Court was already constituted, as it is known to have been at a later date, with Welsh freeholders taking part in its proceedings. The document also refers to Rodbert, Sheriff of Cardiff, and further on to Rodbert, son of Gregory, Sheriff of "Glanmargam." This illustrates the remark already made above, that the name of "Cardiff" was used sometimes for that of the whole lordship. The land dealt with was in the neighbourhood of Margam.

A grant of a burgage in Cardiff by Earl William is attested amongst others by William de Bosco, sheriff, and William, son of Esmund, portreeve of Cardiff (*Cartae*, I, p. 108).

A charter by Bishop Nicholas, 1149-83, to Tewkesbury (*Cartae*, I, p. 133), before referred to, enumerate the following churches or chapels in Cardiff—the parish Church of Saint Mary, the Chapel of the Castle, the Chapel of Saint John, and the Chapel of Saint Thomas, besides the Chapel of Roath. Giraldus mentions a chapel of Saint Piran.

The account of Maurice de Berkelay, custodian, immediately after the death of the Earl, 1184-5 (*Cartae*, I, p. 170), shows that the castles of Neath, Newcastle (Bridgend), Kenfig, and Newport had then been built. The income from Cardiff for half a year was £24, from Roath 16s. 1d., Leckwith 17s. 6d., Llantwit £14 19s. 11d.

After the death of Earl William there had taken place one of those Welsh risings which usually occurred on the death of a Lord, especially when a wardship followed. Kenfig was burnt by the Welsh, and the above account mentions that the burgesses there were quit (of rent) that year on account of the burning of the town.

The *Annals of Margam* state that Cardiff itself was burnt by the Welsh in 1185, and probably the items which appear in the account for the repair of the castle and houses, and of

the bridges of Roath and Rumney, and the mill of Leckwith may represent expenses incurred in repairing damage done by them. However, it would not seem that the mischief can have been anything like as serious as at Kenfig, and some items for the maintenance of Welsh prisoners and " doing justice " upon them seem to indicate that the attack on Cardiff was not very successful.

In 1188 Archbishop Baldwin, who was attended by Giraldus Cambrensis, preached the Crusade at Llandaff.

While the Lordship of Glamorgan was in the hands of John, Earl of Mortaine (afterwards King), who married Isabel, daughter of William, Earl of Gloucester, it is frequently referred to as an " Honour ", an expression which did not continue in later times, so far as has been observed.

A mandate of King John (*Cartae*, II, p. 320) mentions " the honour of Glamorgan and the honour of Cardiff ". The fact has been mentioned elsewhere that King John divorced his wife in 1200, but retained her lands for a considerable time.

A curious document of 1214 (*Cartae*, II, p. 338) contains a notification by the King that " we have given Isabel, Countess of Gloucester, our Kinswoman, to Geoffrey de Mandeville, Earl of Essex, with all the lands, tenements, and fees of the same Countess." The word " kinswoman," no doubt, was used with reference to the fact that he had divorced her on the ground of relationship. Both were great grandchildren of King Henry I.

De Mandeville died in 1216 and the Countess Isabel in 1217. A charter by her during her widowhood, and therefore of 1216-17, grants to the monks of Margam " common pasture in my whole marsh on the west of the town of Kaerdif. So that for every head of their animals . . . . they render to me and my heirs as much as the burgesses of Kaerdif used to render yearly for every head of their animals in the time of William, Earl of Gloucester, my father." (*Cartae*, II, p. 352). This was hardly what would now be called a right of common, inasmuch

as it was not enjoyed free of payment, but the document, together with other evidence, show that in the time of William, Earl of Gloucester, 1147-83, there were a portreeve, bailiffs, and burgesses of Cardiff. It is, however, possible that in this instance the expression "ballive" may be used instead of "prepositi," though it seems more likely that they were distinct officials, as the early documents appear to indicate that there was only one "prepositus" at this period.

In 1217 Gilbert de Clare succeeded. (*Annals of Margam.*) There has been some doubt as to the date of his accession, some authorities having placed it in 1226, but a Harley Charter (*Cartae*, II, p. 432) describes Gilbert de Clare as Lord while Henry (of Abergavenny) was Bishop of Llandaff, and Bishop Henry died in 1218.

In 1221 the *Annals of Tewkesbury* state "our priory of Kerdif, the monks having been called home, is let to farm, yet not for a term certain."

In 1228 the same *Annals* say that Earl Gilbert found mines of silver, lead, and iron in Wales. It was this Earl who made the important grant of lands in the neighbourhood of Cardiff to Keynsham Abbey which afterwards became known as the manor of Roath Keynsham. In the time of this Earl, Morgan Cam ap Morgan ap Caradoc ap Jestyn, Lord of Avan, gave much trouble in the western part of the Lordship, and his conduct, though not directly affecting Cardiff, may be referred to as illustrating the very incomplete nature of the conquest at this date, 120 years after FitzHamon's time.

In an agreement with Margam (*Cartae*, III, p. 925) he undertakes not to molest the monks in the enjoyment of their lands in the fee of Newcastle, but reserves the right to make war upon others for Newcastle. By another charter (*Cartae*, III, p. 927) he actually confirms grants made by Gilbert de Clare, a clear indication that he did not at the time acknowledge de Clare as his Lord.

In 1228, after he had been engaged in a rising, de Clare captured him and sent him prisoner into England, but released him in 1229, on giving hostages. However, in 1231, after the death of the Earl, he destroyed Neath and "exterminated" its inhabitants. He is also said to have burnt Kenfig in 1232 (*Annals of Margam*). In the destruction of Neath he appears to having been acting with Llewelyn, Prince of North Wales, who is said at this time to have greatly ravaged all Wales "outside his boundaries."

Cardiff itself does not appear to have suffered from any Welsh attack for many years after 1185, but it must have been the only place in the county which enjoyed any great degree of security. In 1226, the Welsh burnt Saint Nicholas, as well as Saint Hilary (*Annals of Margam*).

At the time of the death of Gilbert de Clare his son Richard was only eight years old, and there was, therefore, a long wardship.

Hubert de Burgh, Justiciar of England, was the first custodian, the same who had been the third husband of Isabel, Countess of Gloucester, but was dismissed by the King in 1232, on account of his opposition to the demands of the Pope for money and to a war with France. There followed the war between Richard Mareschal, Earl of Pembroke, and the King, Some of the Glamorgan Barons supported the Earl, but this does not appear to have been the case with the people of the district generally. The Earl allied himself with Llewelyn, Prince of Wales, a step not likely to have been popular with the burgesses of Cardiff.

During this war the King ordered the bailiffs of Bristol not to allow provisions to be taken from their town, but afterwards, 6th August, 1233, he issued a writ directing them to allow the men of Cardiff, Swansea, and Carmarthen to have them, they giving security not to take them elsewhere. In October, 1233, Cardiff Castle was held by the King's adherents, but was taken

by the Earl Mareschal on the 15th of that month. Warine Basset was killed in the attack and buried at Llandaff. It is stated that the burgesses of Cardiff sustained great loss. The Earl Mareschal burnt Monmouth and other castles and towns at the request of the Welsh. He defeated the King at Grosmont, and took hostages from the barons and knights of Glamorgan and the burgesses of Cardiff. Cardiff being in the hands of the Earl Mareschal, ships were fitted out there and at Newport, and took some Bristol ships. In the summer of 1234 the Earl Mareschal died and was succeeded by his brother Gilbert. Peace was made between the King and Barons and the wardship of Richard de Clare was granted to Gilbert.

For the above particulars as to the war, etc., the *Annals of Tewkesbury* are the principal authority. Gilbert Mareschal died 1241, when the King took possession of Cardiff Castle and the de Clare estates, but in September, 1243, seisin was granted to Richard de Clare.

From 1245 to 1250 took place some important changes, which resulted in several of the member lordships coming into the hands of the chief Lord.

Howel ap Meredith ap Caradoc ap Jestyn was Lord of Miscyn, Rees ap Griffith ap Ivor Bach was Lord of Senghenydd. Richard Siward, possibly a descendant of one of FitzHamon's companions, held Talafan, Llanblethian, and Ruthyn.

As early as 1242 Howel ap Meredith, Rees ap Griffith, and Gilbert de Turbervill had made war upon each other and disturbed the peace of the county. Robert, Abbot of Tewkesbury, and others were employed to make peace between them, and succeeded in doing so at that time, Howel ap Meredith and Rees ap Griffith giving hostages (*Annals of Tewkesbury*).

At a later date, apparently about 1245, Howel ap Meredith and Siward defied the authority of the Earl, who seized Miscyn into his own hands. From this date this lordship always remained in the hands of the chief Lord.

Against Siward proceedings were taken in the County Court, which met on several occasions with reference to this business at Stalling Down and Saint Nicholas. Siward, not appearing on one of the dates appointed, was declared "wolveshed" and his estates forfeited. He appealed to the King, and the question was raised whether an appeal lay from the County Court of Glamorgan to the King's Court. The proceedings are set out in *Cartae*, II. p. 547 *et seq.* The latter part of the record is wanting, and the actual result of the proceedings does not appear. However, as a matter of fact there appears to be no doubt that the lordships of Talafan, Llanblethian, and Ruthyn remained in the possession of the Earl.

In 1256 Richard de Clare founded the House of the Black Friars at Cardiff.

In 1257, in consequence of a tax imposed by Prince Edward, the Welsh rose in arms. They met with some successes and Stephen Bawcen, a distinguished soldier, who had been Sheriff of the County in 1246, was killed. In 1259, they attacked Neath with 800 horsemen and 7,000 footmen. They burned the town but failed to take the Castle. (*Annals of Tewkesbury*).

In the disputes which again arose at this period between the King and the Barons Earl Richard advocated moderate counsels and on the whole supported the King. Two grants of burgages in Cardiff (*Cartae*, III, p. 702-703) may be mentioned here. They are not dated, and may be of somewhat later date than the time of Richard de Clare, though certainly not later than the second half of the 13th century. One is a conveyance to Walter de Regny (Reigny) of two burgages in Cardiff. One of these burgages is described as "outside the South gate towards the sea", showing that Cardiff possessed walls and gates at that period. Both refer to the burgage rents of 12d. per burgage, payable to the Lord, and the second of the two deeds speaks of the rent being "for every service exaction and demand". The document in this respect

confirms what is stated in the memorandum or statement of customs in *Cardiff Records* (Vol. I, p. 10). In 1262 occurred litigation between the Abbeys of Margam and Saint Peter's, Gloucester, about the tithes of the Margam lands in Llancarvan, and witnesses were examined in Saint John's Church, Cardiff.

About this period must be the date of one of the earliest Glamorganshire mining grants of which we have any record. Philip, son of William de Cornely, grants to Margam iron and lead ore in his lands on the east of the highway from Newton Nottage to Cornely (*Cartae*, II, p. 592). The approximate date is fixed by the fact that this Philip, the grantor, witnessed a deed of 21st December, 1261. Richard de Clare died 1262.

He was succeeded by his son Gilbert "the Red" de Clare. There was but a short wardship, for the Earl had possession of his lands in August, 1263. Earl Gilbert de Clare at first took a leading part on the side of the Barons, in those controversies with the King and Prince Edward, which led to civil war and the battles of Lewes and Evesham. At Lewes the young Earl was knighted by Simon de Montfort. Disputes, however, soon arose between them which led to the Earl taking the side of the King. Shortly after Prince Edward's escape from Hereford in 1265, de Montfort crossed the Usk at Newport, afterwards destroying the bridge, and marched upon Glamorgan, which he wasted on account of the defection of the Earl from his cause in co-operation with Llewelyn, Prince of Wales. There is reason to think that Cardiff probably suffered on this occasion. In August, 1265, took place the battle of Evesham, de Clare fighting on the side of the King.

It appears probable that Griffith ap Rees, Lord of Senghenydd (great grandson of Ivor Bach) had assisted in ravaging Glamorgan. At all events, in 1266, Griffith was taken prisoner and sent to Kilkenny, Senghenydd being taken into the hands of the Earl. It never afterwards passed under the rule of a

Welsh Lord. This proceeding (and probably also the earlier confiscation of Miscyn by Richard de Clare) led to disputes between the Earl and Llewelyn, Prince of Wales, who claimed authority in the hill lordships.

In 1267 the Earl and Llewelyn agreed to refer their differences to Prince Edward for settlement, and a writ of the King directed Roger de Someri (Lord of Dynas Powis) and Hugh de Turbervill to inquire into the matter and report to the King and Prince (*Cartae*, II, p. 686).

In 1268 the Earl and Prince entered into another agreement to refer their disputes to certain persons named. It was agreed that the men of Miscyn and Senghenydd, whom the Earl alleged to have been seduced from their allegiance to him by Llewelyn, were to remain, pending the proceedings, as follows: those of Miscyn between the lands of Brecknock and Glynrhondda, and those of Senghenydd between the lands of Brecknock and the Caiach Brook (*Cartae*, II, p. 693).

This seems to have led to no definite result and the Earl proceeded to build Caerphilly Castle. The works had evidently made considerable progress in 1271, when Llewelyn besieged the castle.

The King commissioned the Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, the Bishop of Worcester, Roger de Mortimer, and R. de Leyburn to inquire into and settle the dispute (*Cartae*, III, p. 757). He also addressed a mandate to Llewelyn, requiring him to desist from attacking the Earl, and to attend at the ford of Montgomery before the Commissioners (*Cartae*, III, p. 759). Another writ requires the bishops, abbots, priors, earls, barons, etc., of the Counties of Hereford, Worcester, Salop, and Stafford to assist the Earl in case of the castle being attacked by Llewelyn (*Cartae*, III, p. 769). This was followed by an agreement of 1 November, 1271, between the Bishops and Llewelyn.

The Prince agreed to withdraw from the siege, and to allow the Bishops to take possession of the castle in order that the questions between himself and de Clare might be determined "according to the laws and customs of the March". The King was to put impartial custodians into the castle, and the garrison of the Earl was to be withdrawn. The fortifications were not to be repaired or increased. Those men of Senghenydd who were with the Prince were not to come lower down the country, nor those with the Earl to go higher, than at the date of the agreement. The Bishops promised that the castle should not go out of the King's hands until justice had been done. The 15th day after Saint John the Baptist's day, at the ford of Montgomery, was appointed for the hearing, with the consent of Llewelyn, and the Bishops undertook that the King would confirm the agreement by letters patent. (*Cartae*, III, p. 763).

This was followed shortly after by a letter from the King to his brother Richard, Earl of Cornwall (King of the Romans), from which it appears that after the Bishops had received the castle, the Earl's Constable of Cardiff had gone there with fifty men, and had obtained access to it on the pretext of examining the arms in it belonging to men of the Earl. The Constable of Cardiff used the opportunity thus given him to take possession of the castle for the Earl. In his letter the King expresses fear that Llewelyn may suppose that this was done with his (the King's) consent, whereas in fact he was grieved at it and asks advice in the matter. (*Cartae*, Ist, Ed. I, p. 137). If Llewelyn did come to the conclusion that faith was not kept with him it can hardly be denied that he had good grounds. No decision was arrived at on the question of his claims, and one of the latest documents of King Henry's reign was a letter from him to Llewelyn, dated 30th October, 1272, postponing the hearing until the following Easter, on account of his own intended journey to France, and the absence of his son, who was then returning from the Holy Land.

The King died 16th November, 1272. The subsequent events, the demand of homage from Llewelyn by Edward I, the two invasions of Wales, and the death of Llewelyn, are matters of general rather than local history.

The Statute of Rhuddlan, which settled the government of those parts of Wales which now for the first time came under English rule, did not affect Glamorgan, but the result of the events which have been referred to was to put an end to the state of half independence which had existed in the hill lordships and to bring them under the direct control of the Chief Lord. Of the great "member" lordships one alone, that of Avan, now remained in the hands of a Welsh lord. The member lordships, however, of which the de Clares had obtained possession, still remained distinct from the body of the County, retaining in a great measure their Welsh laws and customs till the reign of Henry VIII. But the policy of King Edward I, and the events which deprived the Welsh chieftains and princes of power, led also to a considerable modification of the position of the great lords of the Marches. Though de Clare and his successors retained their chancery at Cardiff, their County Court, and most of their semi-regal powers, they were no longer able to defy the authority of the King and to make war and peace at pleasure, as their predecessors had often done.

When de Clare and de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, in 1289, fought on the occasion of a dispute about the site of Morlais Castle (built by de Clare) Edward caused both Earls to be imprisoned and the offence to be inquired into by Parliament. Their lands were forfeited for a time and their adherents fined, and though the lands were restored, the authority of the King was established.

Earl Gilbert divorced his first wife, Alice de Angoulesme, in 1282 or 1283, and in the latter year a contract was made for his marriage to the Princess Joan, daughter of the King, then only

about eleven years old. The marriage took place 2nd May, 1290. Shortly afterwards a matter which had been long in dispute, the right to the custody of the temporalities in Glamorgan belonging to the See of Llandaff, during vacancy, was settled in favour of the Crown. The Lords had claimed and exercised this right on several occasions, but on the vacancy which occurred on the death of Bishop William de Braose in 1287 the King compelled the Earl to give way, and though he granted the right of custody of the lands during vacancy to the Earl and his wife (the Princess Joan) during their lives and the life of the survivor, it was thereafter to remain to the King and his heirs. This grant was dated 2nd November, 1292, and is printed in Browne Willis's Llandaff.

It was this Earl Gilbert who, on the 13th April, 1289, effected an exchange with the Abbot of Neath, receiving from the Abbot extensive lands near Neath, and giving him instead £100 per annum out of the burgage rents of certain towns and the rents of some measures.

The amounts were as follows :—	£	s.	d.
Of the rent of the borough of Neath ..	5	14	4½
Of the rent of the borough of Cowbridge	14	12	7½
Of the rent of manor of Llanbleddian ..	23	5	7¼
Of the rent of manor of Llantwit ..	25	17	0¾
Of the rent of borough of Cardiff ..	20	3	0
Of the rent of borough of Caerleon ..	10	7	4
	£100	0	0

The Earl reserved his right to escheats and all services other than the rent. The deed is known from an inspeximus of King Edward III (*Cartae* IV, p. 1200). The arrangement remained in force until the dissolution of the monasteries but the rents fell off to a great extent. A roll in the Augmentation Office, 31 Hen. VIII gives the rent from Cardiff at £10 10s. 0d. only, and we know from Ministers' accounts that it had been

leased to Thomas Lichfield (Records I, p. 250). The fact that the burgage rents were vested in the Crown on the dissolution as part of the possessions of Neath Abbey, and not in right of the Lordship of the Borough, gave rise to various doubts and questions, but in some way these rents again passed to the Lords, and they were collected (sometimes under the name of "Abbots Rents") until the payment of them gradually fell into disuse.

It would seem that at the time of the grant the rent granted from Cardiff represented about the amount of the then burgage rents of the town, for in the Inquisition on the death of Gilbert de Clare, in 1295, the amount is stated at £21 0s. 11d., and in that on the death of Joan de Clare, in 1307, at £21 3s. 0d., and this is expressly said to be for 423 burgages at 12d. for each.

A deed of the time of Gilbert de Clare, 1290 (*Cartae*, III, p. 867), contains the earliest mention that has been met with of two prepositi of Cardiff. Originally there seems to have been only one such officer, but in this deed two are mentioned. The document is a grant of a vacant piece of ground between two burgages subject to the rent and services due to the Lord and three shillings per annum to the grantor and his heirs.

Earl Gilbert de Clare founded the house of Grey Friars at Cardiff. He for a time dispossessed the monks of Margam of their lands between the Taff and Ely (the Grange Farm), but afterwards restored them (*Cartae* III, p. 1153).

In 1295, the year of the death of Gilbert de Clare, occurred a considerable Welsh rising, which was put down by the King in person. So far as regards Glamorgan it appears to have affected principally the western parts of the Lordship.

The Earl died 7th December, 1295, and the Inquisition on his death was taken in the February following. This is the earliest regular inquisition extant relating to Glamorgan. It is rather a set of inquisitions, for there were different inquiries

before different jurors for the various boroughs and lordships. It is of interest to note that at Cardiff and Cowbridge the jurors were wholly English, and at Kenfig all were English but two, or perhaps three, while at Neath they were all Welshmen.

The amounts of the burgage rents were, Cardiff £21 11s. 0d., Kenfig 13s. only (which probably indicates some great destruction there), Neath £5 3s. 11½d., Cowbridge £11 12s. 10d. Llantrisant is not named. The inquisition for Miskin was taken at St. Fagans, but the burgage rents of Llantrisant may be included in the "rent of assise" referred to in the inquisition. That there were such is certain, for in the inquisition on the death of the Countess Joan, 1307, 145 burgages are mentioned at Llantrisant.

The case of Newport is interesting. The inquisition there was by six freemen of Wentloog, all Welshmen, and six burgesses of Newport, all English, the same jury serving for both. It is recorded that there are in the town of Newport 256 burgages of which 66½ are standing, and 190 destroyed by war and lying empty. The rent for those standing was 66s. 6d., showing that the amount per burgage was 1s., as at Cardiff. It may be that Newport had never recovered from de Montfort's ravages, or possibly had suffered in the more recent Welsh rising. At Usk the burgage rents were £6 7s. 3½d., representing about 127 burgages, and 180 were burnt, which used to yield £9. At Caerleon the borough rent was £5 2s. 0d. To return to Cardiff, we find in this inquisition an item of 4s. for "chense." This we know to have been a kind of toll or poll-tax, and it seems to have prevailed throughout the whole Lordship. In Miskin and Glynrhondda in the 17th century it is said to have been 1d. paid yearly by every freeholder. It does not seem probable, however, that it was paid by burgesses as such, or the amount would have been larger than 4s. A charter of Leysan de Avene to Avan grants certain privileges to "all English burgesses and also to my chense payers" (chenceribus). This indicates that

burgesses and chense payers were different classes. Fifty-three years later, on the death of Hugh le Despenser, the amount of the " chense " was only 3s. 4d. The figures which have been referred to as to burgage rents show that Cardiff, whatever it may have suffered in the Baron's War or by Welsh risings, was by far the most important town in the district.

Gilbert de Clare left a son Gilbert, born 1291, and three daughters, Eleanor, Elizabeth, and Margaret. The marriage of the Countess Joan to Ralph de Monthermer, the seizure of her lands by the King and his subsequent reconciliation, and the admission of Monthermer to Parliament as temporary Earl of Gloucester in her right, have been mentioned elsewhere. That Countess Joan died March, 1307, and King Edward I, her father, 7th July following. The inquisition taken at Cardiff on the death of the Countess gives, as might be expected, much the same particulars as that on the death of Gilbert de Clare.

Gilbert de Clare, the third and last of the name, was only about 16 years of age on the death of his mother, but the wardship was a short one, for in November, 1307, he received possession of his lands. He was killed at Bannockburn 30th June, 1314, and Bartholomew de Badlesmere was at once appointed custos of Glamorgan. The inquisition for Cardiff on de Clare's death was taken on the 18th September, 1314. It does not state before whom it was taken, but that at Kenfig in the same month was before William Fleming, deputy of Bartholomew de Badlesmere.

The burgesses of Cardiff are said to hold 380 burgages, with certain stalls (or shops) and plots and render £21 0s. 8½d. As the rent is nearly the same as in the inquisition of 1307, it would seem that there had not in fact been any material decrease in the burgages, but that the stalls and plots had been counted as burgages in the earlier inquisition. It appears

that there was at first uncertainty as to the succession, for the jurors say they understand the Earls' widow is pregnant. This did not prove to be the case.

Bartholomew de Badlesmere, a stranger to the district, or those acting under him, would seem to have been very arbitrary and oppressive in dealing with the Welsh inhabitants of the County, and this, no doubt, occasioned the rising of Llewelyn Bren, which commenced either quite at the end of 1315, or in January, 1316, and lasted about nine weeks. Bartholomew de Badlesmere had been succeeded by Payn Turbervill in October, 1315.

It is stated that Llewelyn Bren had been removed from some office, and this may be so, but obviously the fact would not account for the support which he seems at once to have received throughout the County. No doubt there had been much oppression, and probably the troubles with the Scots and the local confusion caused by the uncertainty as to the succession (for the partition of the de Clare estates had not yet been effected) seemed to afford an opportunity for a rising.

On 7th February, 1316, King Edward II issued a proclamation for removing some grievances, and providing for the fair trial of offences. Wrongs by Welshmen to Englishmen, or vice versa, were to be inquired into by a jury half Welsh and half English. Disputes between Welshmen were to be decided by Welsh law. In collecting the custom called "Westva" by which a cow or five shillings was to be rendered, the bailiffs, if a cow worth 5s. was offered, were forbidden to take any other cow. The number of bailiffs of the King was to be reduced (*Rymer's Foedera*). The following documents from Rymer also bear on this matter.

11 February, 1316. The King appointed Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex, to command against Llewelyn Bren.

13 February, 1316. A writ was issued giving the Earl of Hereford full power to receive the Welsh rebels into the King's peace.

Llewelyn Bren appears to have almost at once surrendered, apparently upon promise of safety or at least of life, and was sent to the Tower, together with his two sons Griffin and Jevan. They were there certainly from 27th July, 1316, to 17th June, 1317, for a writ of the King of the latter date directs payment to the Constable of the Tower for their maintenance during that period, at the rate of 3d. per day for each.

In November, 1316, were issued various writs for liberating Welsh prisoners and restoring their lands. It may have been about this time that Llewelyn himself was released. His illegal execution at Cardiff certainly did not take place till after November, 1317, for it was after Hugh le Despenser had obtained possession of Glamorgan, in right of his wife Eleanor de Clare, and the writ for giving him possession is dated 15th November, 1317. The date of his execution was probably 1318. According to Rhys Myryke, he was hanged close to the Black Tower, the tower at the main entrance to Cardiff Castle, and within a wall which then enclosed the prison in the lower part of that tower. This is said to have taken place while Sir William Fleming was sheriff, and it has been considered by some that Sir William Fleming was himself executed on account of his having condemned Llewelyn Bren. It seems more probable, however, that Fleming was executed on other grounds, as stated below.

It is certain that the statute for the banishment of the Despensers (passed in 1322) places upon them the responsibility for Llewelyn's death.

It is worthy of note that though Cardiff suffered to some extent through the rising of Llewelyn Bren, no actual destruction of buildings seems to have taken place there. It was presumably a place of too great strength.

The account of John Giffard de Brimmesfeld, then custos (Payn Turbervill having died) from 20 April to 29 September, illustrates the effects of the rebellion in various places, and also affords some insight into the comparative sizes of the various towns. At Cardiff the burgage rents were unaffected, and were paid for 380 burgages, including (as the amount shows) the stalls or shops mentioned above.

Roath—Certain meadow grass unsold because of the war.

Leckwith—Sale of pasture affected by the war. This would be on what are now known as Leckwith Moors.

Whitchurch—Mills destroyed.

Pentyrch—Mill destroyed.

Llanblethian and Talavan—Pasture not let and corn not sown. Mills seem to have been injured, as they had required important repairs. Animals could not use the woods because of thieves being about after the war. Ruthyn mills seem not to have been destroyed. The profits of mountain pasture were less. This would probably be on Garth Maelog.

Llantrisant—90 burgages burnt. Rent was paid for 97.

Clun—Rent of avowry reduced because many Welshmen who held no land (the class who paid this rent) left the district, and many were killed in the war.

Glynrhondda—Four water mills and one fulling mill totally destroyed.

Caerphilly—47s. 6d. received for burgages, 23 burnt. This probably means that there were about 70 before the rising. Fulling mill destroyed. Drawbridge at the Castle destroyed.

Llanfedw—Mill destroyed.

Merthyr and Gelligaer—Mills destroyed, and many Welsh who held no land killed.

Neath—Mills burnt. 80 burgages and cottages burnt. Rent paid for 84 (so that there were 164 before the rising). For coal nothing was received for want of workmen. Two horseloads of iron only made in the forest of Neath. One maker only worked.

Cilivevill—Three mills destroyed. Tenants killed.

It will be noticed that mills seem to have been special objects of attack. This might well be on account of the custom of suit of mill, and the exactions and abuses to which it gave rise.

Such was the war of Llewelyn Bren. Though considerable damage was done it was a local rising not connected with anything in the nature of a national movement, as had been the case on former occasions.

The succession of de Clare's sisters as co-heiresses necessitated a partition of his estates, which was completed in 1317, the Royal writ to the Escheator to deliver to Hugh le Despenser the share of his wife Eleanor being dated 15th November in that year (*Cartae* III, p. 1048). The writ contains a memorandum that the County of Glamorgan is to be wholly separated in future from the County of Wentloog, which, of course, had formed part of de Clare's lordship of Glamorgan and Morgan, or Morganwg. In fact, however, after this partition, the Lords of Glamorgan still continued to use the title of Lords of Glamorgan and Morgan. Here may be mentioned two grants of about this period, which record old Cardiff street names.

2nd August, 1310, Amecia le Newelestar of Cowbridge releases to Thomas Clement all her right in a tenement in Houndemanneby, now Womanby Street (*Cartae* III, p. 1009).

1st March, 1321, Cristina, daughter of David de la More, conveys to Thomas, son of Maurice Clement (probably the Thomas Clement of the last mentioned deed), a burgage in Schipmanstrete, without the south gate of the town of Cardiff. (*Cartae* III, 1089). The name Shipman-street seems to have

soon been disused. The place appears to have been afterwards called " Soudrey " and now known as "East Wharf " on one side and " West Wharf " on the other.

There is another grant, not dated, of a half burgage in " Hundemanby," from William the Tanner to Philip, son of John of Llandaff, which must be of about the same date as the Shipman-street deed (1321), as two of the witnesses are the same. (*Cartae* III, p. 802.) The purchase money was 20s.

In 1321 Hugh le Despenser and his father, having rendered themselves obnoxious, the Earls of Lancaster and Hereford and others, amongst whom were John Giffard of Brimmesfeld (who had been custos of Glamorgan) and William de Sully, combined to amend the state of the realm. Some of these, in May, 1321, took Newport, and came thence into Glamorgan, when they took Cardiff, Caerphilly, Llantrisant, Kenfig, and Neath, spoiled goods, collected rents, and burnt manor houses, and also burnt and destroyed writings and evidences (*Holinshed*).

No doubt Cardiff suffered on this occasion, but we have no details of the mischief done there. As mention is made of the burning of writings, it appears probable that the earlier Cardiff charters may have perished on this occasion.

These events were followed by the banishment of the Despensers, which, however, was of short duration. While it lasted, Hugh le Despenser the younger is said to have taken to piracy at sea (*Stow's Annals*).

On 16th March, 1322, the Barons were defeated at Boroughbridge. Amongst others Bartholomew de Badlesmere and John Giffard of Brummesfeld, who have been mentioned as custodians of Glamorgan, were both taken and executed. Sir William Fleming also was executed at Cardiff, no doubt, for the part he took in this rising. In the interval between the battle of Boroughbridge and the final fall of the Despensers

was granted the first known Cardiff charter, 4th March, 1324 (Vol. I, p. 15)* This charter was doubtless obtained by the influence of Despenser. It relates to several other boroughs besides Cardiff, and may have been a bid for the support of the towns.

In 1326 Queen Isabella, having come from France with Roger Mortimer and Prince Edward and a considerable force, the King and Hugh le Despenser the younger intended to take refuge at Lundy, but failing to land there came to Neath Abbey. Shortly afterwards the King was at Caerphilly Castle. From thence he sent a letter to Rees ap Griffith, directing him to levy men in the County of Pembroke and parts adjacent and to bring them to his aid (*Rymer's Foedera*).

It does not appear that Despenser could obtain any support in his own lordship. The King was taken near Llantrisant, and given up to the Queen, as was also Despenser, who was executed at Hereford, November, 1326.

It may be noted that Edmund, Earl of Arundel, one of the witnesses to the charter of 1324, was beheaded by order of the Queen at Hereford about the same time (*Stow*). Concerning this charter it will be remembered that amongst other towns it included Newport, Usk, and Caerleon. This is accounted for by the fact that although the Monmouthshire portion of the de Clare lordship had been separated from Glamorgan by the partition on the death of Gilbert de Clare, Hugh le Despenser for a time managed to get possession of the Monmouthshire estates which had been allotted to the sisters of his wife Eleanor and their husbands. Newport and Wentloog were part of the share of Margaret, Caerleon and Usk part of that of Elizabeth. Hugh le Despenser left an infant son (also named Hugh) by Eleanor de Clare. Within a short time after the death of Hugh his widow married William la Zouche and from about 1329 (or earlier) to 1338 he was Lord of Glamorgan in her right. La Zouche was of the party opposed

* Cardiff Records.

to the Despensers. He was one of those who took King Edward prisoner, and was also custos of Glamorgan after the death of Hugh le Despenser.

At an inquisition ordered by William la Zouche and his wife as to certain wrongs (deprivations of lands) done to Margam by Gilbert de Clare, father of Eleanor, held at Cardiff before the Sheriff in full county court 13th February, 1329 (*Cartae* III, p. 1153), certain burgesses of Cardiff, John Odyn and Richard Elis, seem to have sat with the county magnates who took part on the hearing. John Odyn appears as a witness to several Cardiff deeds of about this period. Richard Elis had been one of the portreeves in 1319, and is elsewhere mentioned. William la Zouche and his wife made the grant to the burgesses of Cardiff of a site for a town-house in the High Street (Vol. I, p. 17).* This charter contains the earliest extant evidence of the existence of a borough court held before the "prepositi" of the town, inasmuch as a place is reserved for holding before them all pleas, as well of the marts as other pleas. The court, however, probably existed much earlier.

In the time of William la Zouche occurs the first instance of a sheriff bearing a Welsh name, Howel ap Howel, in 1331 (*Cartae* III, p. 1172).

Hugh le Despenser, son of Eleanor, succeeded in 1338. He confirmed various charters in October of that year, amongst them that of La Zouche to the burgesses of Cardiff above referred to. On 19th April, 1340, he granted the important charter printed in Vol. I, p. 19.* Attention has been called in Vol. I to several points connected with this charter, but it may be noted here that its form seems to afford some evidence that the earlier charters, which no doubt had existed, had already at that date been lost or destroyed. The whole tenor of the instrument points to its being a confirmation, with some alterations and additions, of privileges which already existed,

* *Ibid.*

and the passage towards the end declaring that the charter shall be observed in all its articles, even if some of them had not hitherto been observed, strongly confirms this view. If the older charter had been in existence it is almost certain, from what is known of the practice at that period, that they would have been inspected and confirmed. The absence of any allusion to them seems to afford a strong presumption that they had been destroyed. The regulations as to the appointment of officers seem to be in part new, though to what extent cannot be known with certainty in the absence of the older charters. Perhaps the provision that the Constable of the Castle should be Mayor was now first introduced. It will be remembered that the charter of William la Zouche, only a few years earlier, speaks of pleas being held before the "prepositi." Under the charter of Hugh le Despenser they are to be held before the constable. It must be borne in mind, however, that in the hundred court he probably did not sit as a judge in the sense in which the term is now understood. The burgesses, who owed suit of court, were the actual judges and responsible for the decisions.

The words of the charter as to election of officers are, at first sight, a little difficult of interpretation. They are these: "And that they shall choose yearly our bailiffs from among our burgesses of the same town, to wit four portreeves of whom the constable of our castle of Cardiff shall receive two at his will one bailiff and two aletasters." It is suggested that the word "bailiffs," where first used, is to be understood in a general sense, as applying to all the officials thereafter named, who consisted of the two portreeves, a bailiff, and two aletasters, the whole elected by the burgesses, for, although the Constable of the castle named the two portreeves, he had no power to go outside the four names submitted to him, so that certainly from the date of this charter, if not earlier, the whole of the important officers, except of course the Constable, were elected by the burgesses.

The borough court or hundred court of the town had cognizance of all civil actions except forestall, homesoken, and pleas of land. Forestalling means buying goods before their coming to market, to keep up prices; homesoken is invading another's house. It had also a criminal jurisdiction which, however, did not extend to felonies. These seem to have been tried in the County Court before the Sheriff. As the County Court was almost always held in Cardiff there would be no practical inconvenience in this to those burgesses who had to attend it.

The Cardiff charters cannot be well understood without comparing them with the charters of the other boroughs of the County, and though it would not come within the scope of this work to deal in detail with all the charters of the other towns, the following short references to some of them may be of interest. Access has not been obtained to any early charter of Cowbridge, but with that exception, charters are known relating to all the boroughs of about the same period as the earliest extant Cardiff charter. As in the case of Cardiff, it cannot be supposed that the charters now known are all that ever existed. It will be seen that several important matters are not mentioned in the existing charters, as to which nevertheless, regulations must have existed, and the fair presumption seems to be that they were contained in documents which are lost or destroyed.

At Kenfig there was one prepositus or portreeve, to be chosen by the Constable of Kenfig Castle out of three elected by the burgesses, and one bailiff to be selected by the constable out of two named by the burgesses. There were two aletasters, as at Cardiff.

The rest of the charter is almost in the same words as that of Cardiff except that the only court held before the borough officers was the piedpoudre court, which might be before either the constable or the portreeve. All other pleas were

to be disposed of before the sheriff in the court of the town held monthly. The constable was to be ex-officio coroner, but there is nothing as to a mayor. The charter was by Edward le Despenser 14 May, 1360 (*Cartae* IV, p. 1411).

As to Llantrisant, the earliest charter the terms of which are known is one of Hugh le Despenser, 4 May, 1346 (*Cartae* IV, p. 1513), known by an inspeximus of 1424 only.

Though it is well known from other evidence that the town had one portreeve, he is not even mentioned in this charter, and there is nothing as to the mode of appointment or election of any officers. As a matter of fact, in modern times the portreeve of Llantrisant was chosen by the Constable of the Castle out of three persons named by the jury at the Court Leet. In the case of Neath a charter of Thomas le Despenser (*Cartae* IV, p. 1418) inspects and confirms charters of William, Earl of Gloucester, and of Gilbert de Clare (2) and also one of Edward le Despenser.

The mode of election of officers is not referred to, but many of the provisions are very similar to those of the Cardiff charter, and it is stated in general terms that the burgesses of Neath were to have all the liberties and free customs which the burgesses of Cardiff had.

The jurisdiction of the hundred court of the town was the same as at Cardiff. Pleas of the crown, forestall, and homesoken were to be tried before the Sheriff at Neath, pleas of land in the County Court of Cardiff.

At Avan (Aberavon) the town was governed by a portreeve, but from the charter of Edward le Despenser, 20th April, 1373, (*Cartae* IV, p. 1333), nothing appears as to the mode of election nor as to the town courts, etc.

The Avan charter shows that a grant to the burgesses of a town of a right to levy tolls on merchants did not necessarily

mean that they had the benefit of the tolls, for although the right is granted to Avan the portreeve is to answer to the lord for the tolls at the Cardiff exchequer.

The charters of Neath, Llantrissant, and Kenfig have many points in common with that of Cardiff, such as freedom of the burgesses from arrest, except in certain cases, the privilege of not being receivers of the lord's moneys, except those arising in the bailiwick, the restrictions upon trading in the town by others than burgesses, rights of common upon certain lands, and other matters.

In the case of Llantrissant and Kenfig the bounds of the "liberty" are defined, and the right of forming a guild is granted. In the Kenfig charter there is the same prohibition as in the case of Cardiff against any merchant buying or selling between Rumney and Pwllcanan elsewhere than in the town fairs during the time of those fairs. The title of mayor, given to the constable of the castle, is peculiar to Cardiff. For the purpose of the comparison of the various 14th century charters strict chronology has been departed from.

On 24th July, 1348, occurs a grant from Laurence Rogge to John Mody of "Crockarton" (*Cartae*, Vol. IV, p. 1266). This is perhaps the earliest document in which the name which afterwards took the form "Crockherbtown" appears. The document is attested, amongst others, by John Joseph and Thomas Barbour, the two "prepositi" of Cardiff, and Thomas Pennarth, Bailiff.

Hugh le Despenser (2) died on the 8th February, 1349, and the inquisition for Cardiff was taken 23rd March (Vol. I, p. 288).* He was succeeded by his nephew Edward, from whom, nearly ten years afterwards, the burgesses of Cardiff obtained a confirmation of the charter of Hugh (Vol. I, p. 27).* As this charter grants no further privileges the explanation of its being granted at this date, no doubt, is that Edward le Despenser attained the age of 21 about this time. The confirmation by

* *Ibid.*

Edward le Despenser of the Cardiff charter of his uncle Hugh, was followed, 20th July, 1359, by a confirmation by King Edward III of the charter of Edward II, of 1324, in favour of Cardiff, Usk, Caerleon, Newport, Cowbridge, Neath, and Kenfig. By an accidental error in the translation of this charter at Vol. I, p. 30,* Edward le Despenser is described as " cousin " and heir of the aforesaid Hugh, meaning the Hugh mentioned in the charter of 1324. In fact, Edward was the grandson of this Hugh.

This and other charters of Kings have sometimes been regarded as confirming charters by the Lords of Glamorgan. This, however, is a mistake, as an examination of the several charters printed in Vol. I* will show. The two sets of charters dealt with distinct matters, those of the Kings conferring freedom from toll, etc., outside the lordship, and those of the lords, dealing with local privileges, the government of the towns etc.

* *Ibid.*

CHAPTER VII.

THE EARLY CHURCHES OF CARDIFF.

At first, and it seems down to its destruction in the 17th century, St. Mary's was " the parish church " of Cardiff.

It existed in FitzHamon's time and was possibly, even probably, then built. I am not aware of the existence of any evidence as to what FitzHamon found at Cardiff when he came. Some churches would, no doubt, exist in the neighbourhood in the Welsh days, but there seems no certainty with regard to any except Llandaff Cathedral and Llandough.

A charter of FitzHamon (*Cartae* I, p. 37) grants to the monks of Tewkesbury an arm of the Taff near the Church (St. Mary's), showing that the church already existed in his day. There is a confirmation charter by Henry I (1106), which is important if genuine. It confirms the gifts of FitzHamon of, amongst other things, " the parish Church of St. Mary in the town of Cardiff ", and the tithes of all the demesne rents of the town of Cardiff and the tithes of all the barons of FitzHamon through the whole land of Wales.

At that time the consent of the Bishop (later the consent of the Pope) was required to the appropriation of tithe to an Abbey. But Herwald, the Bishop in FitzHamon's day, was in extreme old age. He died at the age of 100 in 1104. No doubt in his time irregularities could be and were committed. There is evidence that for some time there were disputes with the Bishops as to the appropriation of tithes to Tewkesbury.

In 1146 a settlement was arrived at with Uchtred, then Bishop, who confirmed to Tewkesbury all the tithes and benefices which had been given to the Abbey in his diocese,

except certain tithes from cultivated lands in the moor between Taff and Ely, and some other matters not affecting Cardiff. Then comes an important charter of the time of Nicholas, Bishop of Llandaff, not dated, but which must have been given between 1173 and 1183, because it was subsequent to the canonisation of Thomas a Beckett (1173) and Bishop Nicholas, died in 1183. This contains the first mention of St. John's that I know of, and it is one of the many " chapels " thereby confirmed to Tewkesbury. These comprise in Cardiff, the Chapel of the Castle, St. John's, St. Thomas's ; also Roath.

Tewkesbury long had a priory at St. Mary's and no doubt the monks held services in the church. At some places where a monastic church was also the parish church the monks used one portion and the parishioners another, but as to what the arrangement was at Cardiff I know of no evidence.

Curiously enough, the first mention of the Priory at Cardiff records the temporary withdrawal from it. The *Annales de Teuokesburia*, in 1221, says : " Our Priory of Cardiff, the monks have been recalled home, is let to farm—yet not for any certain term." What the arrangement was is not stated, nor whether it included the rights of the Abbey in the various churches and chapels in the Cardiff neighbourhood. I think it probable that it affected Cardiff only, and that some priest undertook the duties there and received the dues, including perhaps the tithes, and paid the Abbey a certain sum per annum. Whatever it was this state of things did not last long, for in 1243 there was again a Prior of Cardiff, for in that year, during a vacancy of the See of Llandaff, the Archdeacon appointed a Vicar for the chapel of St. John, in Cardiff. R. de Derby was then Prior and appealed to the Pope about this. The result is not mentioned. In 1246, it is recorded that the Bishop of Llandaff (William de Burg), absolved the Prior of Cardiff as to a certain decree of the Bishop for the " vicarage of Cardiff ".*

* Said to be for St. John's Chapel.

It was then settled (evidently by the Bishop) that the Vicar was to have all moneys coming to his hands in the chapel of St. John, paying thereout 20s. yearly for the food of a priest at the Prior's table. This was one of those controversies which seem not infrequently to have arisen when the revenues of churches were appropriated to monasteries. It was to the interest of them to make as hard a bargain as they could with the Vicars, and the Bishops interfered to protect the interest of the Vicars, and through them of the parishioners. Just at the same time the same Bishop settled a question of the same sort between Tewkesbury and the Vicar of Llantwit, and with four other clergymen sworn for the purpose, made an estimate of the value of the churches in the Deanery of Llandaff (*Cartae* III, p. 946.) In this document there appears

Ecclesia Beate Marie de Cardiff cum capellis xx mar.
(20 marks, or £13 6s. 8d.)

St. John's was no doubt one of the chapels.

In 1262 a William de Derhurst was appointed Prior of Cardiff. In 1291 the Church of St. Mary and its chapels occur in another list as belonging to the Prior of Cardiff. (*Cartae* III, p. 952.) In the same return the Vicarage of Cardiff is said to be worth 4 marks.

After this I have found nothing about Cardiff Priory except a statement in Dugdale's *Monasticon* that it is supposed to have been burnt by Owen Glyndwr, and never re-built. If so, the date of destruction of the Priory would be 1402-1404. Still the Rectory of Cardiff continued to belong to Tewkesbury till the dissolution of the Monasteries.

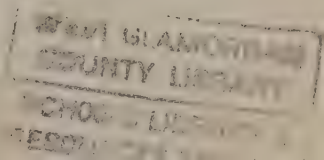
The Rev. C. A. H. Green† in his *Churches in the Diocese of Llandaff*, p. 51, says the present tower of St. John's was built 1473, and no doubt the church was then largely reconstructed, perhaps re-built. I think I have read that this was done by Isabel, Duchess of Clarence. The date would admit this, but I

† Now Bishop of Monmouth.

cannot find any authority at present. In the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of Henry VIII, 1536, as quoted by Mr. Green, two " Parish Churches " are mentioned " the Parish Church of Cardiff St. John the Baptist's," whose parochial tithes were worth £13 4s. 3d., and " the Parish Church of the Blessed Mary of Cardiff," whose tithes were worth £4 5s. 0d. At the same time, in the Abbey returns of this date, we find the " Vicar of Cardiff " and " Vicarages of Cardiff ", and in the accounts of the dissolved monasteries reference to the pension of £2 13s. 4d. paid by the Vicar to the Abbey. As Mr. Green says, this looks as if at that time the living was consolidated, with one Vicar for both Churches. Leland writing just about this time says " Ther be 2 Paroche Chirchis in the Towne, whereof the principale lying somewhat by Est is one, the other of our Lady is by Southe on the Water side ". Of course, the first church he mentions is St. John's. After the suppression of Tewkesbury, when the Bishopric of Gloucester was set up, the Rectory of Cardiff was appropriated to the Dean and Chapter of that place. Bishop Kitchen's return, 1563, quoted by Mr. Green, p. 51, says :" The town of Cardiff hath a Parish Church called Saint Mary's, with a chapel annexed to the same in the said town called Saint John's, which hath christening and burial as the Parish Church hath and hath also a chapel of ease called Roath, without christening or burial."

In 1603, in a return by Bishop Godwin (*Cartae* VI, p. 2,144), the living is spoken of as " Cardiff Vic' St. John's and St. Maries. The impropriation is held by Anthony Maunsell, esquier." The impropriation is said to be worth £100, the Vicarage £20. Mansel, no doubt, held by lease from the Dean and Chapter of Gloucester.

Shortly after this Saint Mary's was ruined by the River Taff. Tradition has it that this was occasioned by the great flood of January, 1607, but I think this hardly probable considering that that flood seems to have been merely an extraordinary tide. No doubt the destruction was gradual, and if



any particular flood completed it so as to cause the walls to fall it would probably be some great fresh water flood such as we know the Taff is liable to. Rice Merrick says: "The River Taf runneth neare the Towne Walles in the west part of the Towne, and washeth the Wall, but somewhat too hard, for part of it is thereby overturned."

Somewhat later, Speed says: "But as the Tave is a friend to the Town in making a Key for arrivage of shipping, so is she a foe to St. Maries Church in the south, with undermining her foundations and threatening her fall." No doubt St. Mary's became useless, if not completely destroyed, early in the 17th century, and thus Saint John's became the only Church, but, as Bishop Kitchin's return shows, it seems always to have been regarded as a chapel of St. Mary's.

There are many other instances in the diocese of churches anciently regarded as chapels of ease having become parish churches, but in what precise manner this came about, and how the parishes or districts ultimately attached to what were originally chapels were formed, I do not know.

It is evident that in the case of Cardiff there was a St. John's parish. No doubt it was so in Bishop Kitchen's time. Yet even to the 19th century the tradition that St. Mary's was "the parish" survived, for persons living in St. Mary's Street were spoken of as living in "the parish."

In the *Ecclesiastical Report* of 1835 the living is described as "Cardiff St. Johns with St. Marys" and the two are not valued separately. The Dean and Chapter of Gloucester were the patrons and impropriators. In 1847, when the new St. Mary's was built, the then Marquis of Bute endowed it and obtained the patronage of St. Mary's, the Vicarage being severed, apparently for the first time, for in the old days, when there were two churches, it seems, as we have seen, that there was but one Vicar.

The facts, I think, were probably these. St. John's was a chapel of St. Mary's and obtained at an early date the rights of christening and burial, while Roath had not in 1563.

It must always have been the more convenient for the greater part of the population, and this, perhaps, led to its being rebuilt on such a scale as to make it structurally the principal church, as Leland calls it. But probably its ecclesiastical status as a chapel of St. Mary's was never altered. If both churches had continued, probably a formal severance would have taken place earlier than it did. But the destruction of St. Mary's settled any question of this sort till the building of the new St. Mary's in 1847.

CHAPTER VIII.

POPULATION AND REVENUE OF CARDIFF IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

In 1801, according to the census, there were only 1,870 people in Cardiff, and as the Glamorganshire Canal, authorised in 1790, had then been made and opened, it is safe to assume that the population must have somewhat increased as compared with what it had been. Probably, during the greater part of the 18th century, it was not more than 1,200 to 1,500.

There is evidence that in medieval times it had been considerably greater.

In an extent made on the death of Richard de Clare, 1262, the particulars of the estimated revenue from Cardiff are entered thus :—

	£	s.	d.
Borough rent	20	4	8
Mills	46	0	0
Prisage of ale	14	0	0
Fishery	8	0	0
Toll of the market	4	0	0
Fair	1	6	8
Prisage of wood and coal	0	10	0
Pleas and perquisites of the hundred and licence to carry timber into England	3	0	0
	£97	1	4

The " Borough rent " meant 1s. for each burgage, so that there must have been at least 404 houses held by burgesses. paying this rent.

Estimating the inhabitants at five per house this would mean over 2,000 people, and there may well have been, and in fact almost certainly were, others dwelling in cottages not accounted as burgages, besides those who lived within the precincts.

of the Castle, monks, friars, etc. Probably the population in fact far exceeded 2,000.*

The next figures are those of 1295 in the inquisition on the death of Gilbert de Clare, son of Richard.

	£	s.	d.
Borough rent	21	0	11
Chense	0	4	0
Mill	45	0	0
Another Mill	1	10	0
Fishery	28	0	0
Toll of the Borough and Fair	5	0	0
Pleas and perquisites of Court	1	15	0
Prisage of ale	25	0	0
	£127	9	11

The considerable increase is due to the much higher estimate of the value of the fishery and prisage of ale (a tax upon ale brewed for sale).

* For the purpose of comparison it may be of interest to refer to the *Extent* of Newport of 1262 in the Public Record Office (Exchequer K.R. Ancient Extents No. 88, m. 6), which has apparently never been published. The jurors' names are Thomas Bile, Gregory Sundew (first syllable of name doubtful), Robert de Littone . . . Adam Cloof, Robert Grey, William Crooc, Richard Crooc, William Rother, John le Chaluner, Maurice Roop . . . the fourth and twelfth names being missing.

	£	s.	d.
Burgage rent	10	0	0
Prise of ale	6	0	0
Toll and fairs	2	0	0
Pleas and perquisites of the hundred	4	0	0
Boats	0	16	0
Vivaries	0	13	4
Curtillages	1	2	5
	£24	11	9

The burgage rent of £10 would mean 200 burgages (at 12d. each), and there were in addition 57 empty burgages—a total of 257. There is no indication of any recent devastation of the town unless the empty burgages point to something of the kind. On the other hand, from the inquisition taken in 1296, on the death of Gilbert de Clare, it may be gathered that Newport had suffered severely. Of its 256½ burgages only 66½ were in repair and rendered 66s. 6d. 190 destroyed by war were vacant and rendered nothing. The prise of ale was only 27s., toll and fairs 30s., pleas 6s. 8d., and mill 20s. on account of war, whilst the customs of boats, vivaries, and curtillages yielded nothing, as they were destroyed by the Earl's enemies. This devastation of Newport no doubt, took place in the great rising of 1295, the last year of Gilbert de Clare's life.

Cardiff appears not to have suffered. D. R. P.

In 1307 the Inquisition on the death of the Countess Joan shows the following :—

	£	s.	d.
423 Burgages	21	3	0
Two pieces of land	0	0	8½
Parcel of land beyond Taff ..	0	2	0
One pound of cummin worth ..	0	0	1½
Two other similar rents	0	0	3
Two water mills	32	0	0
Miller for flour	1	10	0
Fishery	20	0	0
Prisage of ale	20	0	0
Toll of merchants	5	5	0
Pleas and perquisites	1	10	0
	£101	11	1

Here there is a considerable falling off in the mills, fishery, and prisage of ale. It looks like an over-estimate in the preceding account, or too low an estimate in this. There had been no disturbances to account for a reduction.

Another Inquisition was taken in 1314, on the death of Gilbert, son of Joan, thus :—

	£	s.	d.
380 Burgages with certain shops & plots	21	0	8½
Three tenants paying 3lbs. of cummin	0	0	4½
Prisage of ale	16	13	4
Tolls of market and Fair	5	0	0
Toll of timber sold at the port ..	0	5	0
Two water mills	38	0	0
Fishery	15	0	0
Pleas and perquisites of hundred	1	13	4
	£97	12	9

It happens that the actual Minister's Account of what was in fact received from Michaelmas, 1314, to Michaelmas, 1315, is extant, and shows the following :—

	£	s.	d.
Rent of assise (Burgage)	21	0	8½
Three pounds of cummin ..	0	0	3½
Mills	40	0	0
Fishery	16	0	0
Tolls of market, fair, and timber ..	6	0	0
Prisage of ale	28	0	0
Pleas and perquisites	2	0	6
	£113	1	6

This agrees pretty well with the Inquisition of 1314, except that the mills and fishery are higher. It indicates that the Inquisition was carefully and fairly made.

Then followed the troubles of the reign of Edward II, and a long interval before there was another Inquisition. The next known was taken March, 1349, on the death of Hugh le Dispenser.

It is said that the Black Death first came to Melcombe Regis in July, 1348, and spread over the west of England during that autumn. The following account certainly seems to indicate that it may have reached, and seriously affected Cardiff.

The particulars are these :—

	£	s.	d.
Three free tenants	0	19	3½
Three pounds of cummin	0	0	3
Nine tenants for life	1	0	0
Prisage of ale	15	0	0
Chanse and small customs of brewers	0	3	4
Tolls of the town and shore ..	5	0	0
Two water mills	16	0	0
Two fisheries in Taff	12	0	0
Pleas and perquisites of hundred	1	10	0
Pleas and perquisites of market and fair	0	6	8
	£51	19	6½

This, of course, shows a very great falling off and suggests some great disaster. On the other hand the Inquisition makes no allusion to anything of the sort.

With respect to the burgage rents, which are entirely absent from this account, the reason is probably this. In 1289 the Gilbert de Clare of that day had received certain lands from the Abbot of Neath in exchange for £100 per annum, charged, in certain fixed proportions, on the rents of various towns and manors of the Earl. Of this amount £20 3s. 0d. was charged upon the burgage rents of Cardiff. In former accounts it was customary to enter the amount of these rents and to state that £20 3s. 0d. was payable out of them. It seems likely that when Hugh le Dispenser died the total amount of the rent had fallen to less than was due to the Abbot, and for that reason it was not thought worth while to mention the burgage rents.

Another point may be mentioned. It is certain that the value both of the fisheries and the mills depended to a considerable extent on the fishing butts and the mill weir being kept in repair, and that these were liable to be damaged by heavy floods in the Taff. Neglect of them might account for decline of receipts under these heads. The next account, however, shows a further serious decline.

The next Inquisition was taken in 1375, on the death of Edward le Dispenser, nephew and successor of Hugh, and shows as follows:

	£	s.	d.
Borough rent with the farms of divers houses	4	4	9
Mills, fishery, and tolls	26	13	4
Prisage of ale	9	0	0
A warren (no doubt at Flat Holme)	0	10	0
Pleas and perquisites	6	13	4
	£47	1	5

It seems almost certain from this that the town had suffered severely, and had not recovered. The small amount received is not likely to have been due to any indulgence or neglect of Edward le Dispenser to enforce payment of all he could. The considerable rise in the amount of the " pleas and perquisites " indicates this. They consisted largely of fines and forfeitures levied at the Lord's court, and these were rigidly enforced and were much heavier under Edward le Dispenser than had been the case earlier.

There is a good deal of evidence that, so far as pecuniary exactions were concerned, the rule of the Dispensers was much heavier than that of the de Clares.

On the other hand, with reference to the small total of the account, it is right to say that this Inquisition was not taken with anything like the care which characterised the earlier ones, and certainly in the case of Senghenydd, where there happens to be an almost contemporary Minister's Account, the receipts, in fact, are shown to have been a good deal higher than the Inquisition would indicate.

There are various Inquisitions of the 15th century, but they give no details, and are useless for the purpose of shewing revenue from Cardiff.

The next document that does throw light on that subject is a Minister's Account for 1491-92, when the Lordship was in the hands of Jasper, Duke of Bedford.

This shows the following :—	£	s.	d.
Rents of assise &	22	13	7
Rents of certain houses & ..	1	5	0
New rents	0	3	8
Mills	15	13	4
Fisheries	6	13	4
Tolls &	4	8	0
Prisage of ale	6	13	4
Perquisites of Court	3	1	3
	£60	11	6

This shows some recovery from what may be supposed to have been the effects of the Black Death, particularly when it is remembered that about 90 years before the date of this account much damage had been done by Owen Glyndwr, and in this account itself it is stated that nothing was received in respect of some buildings because they were burnt by the rebel Welsh.

On the whole it seems clear the the town of Cardiff, in common with other places of the west, suffered severely from the Black Death, and that the population under the later de Clares was much larger than at the end of the 18th century

CHAPTER IX.

KIBBOR—ROATH DOGFIELD.

Kibbor was the name of an old Commote, afterwards of a Lordship, and now of a hundred and Petty Sessional Division. The modern hundred of Kibbor includes, however, much more than in the old Commote. The earliest description of its boundaries is that given in Leland's *Itinerary*, from which it appears that it included the district south of the ridge known as Cefn Onn, running from east to west some four miles north of Cardiff, between the Taff and the Rumney, and extending to the sea, with the exception of that part of the parish of Llandaff which lies east of the Taff, which was in the Commote of Llandaff.

The description is as follows :—

> *Kibworth* lyith from the Mouthe of *Remney* up to an Hille in the same Commote caullid *Keuen On* a 6-Miles from the Mouth of *Remny*. This Hille goith as a Waulle over-thwart betwix the Rivers of *Thaue* and *Remny*.
>
> A 2.Miles from this Hille by south, and a 2.Miles from *Cairdif*, be *vestigia* of a Pile or Maner Place decayed at *Egluis Newith* in the Paroch of *Landaf*.
>
> In the South side of this Hille was born *Richard William* alias *Crumwelle* yn the Paroch of *Llan Isen*.
>
> If *Cairdif* be not a Commote in itself, it semith to be in *Kibworth*.
>
> *Kibworth* goith by the Shore from the Mouth of *Remny* to the Mouth of *Tawe* a 2.Miles and more. *Splot* a Maner Place longging to *Baudrem*, lyith from the Mouth of *Remny*

on the Shore, and is taken as Land holden of the Bisshop of *Landaf* and resortith to the Bisshopes Court. So it is in the Commote of *Kibworth*, but not of the Court of it.

Kibworth cummith from the mouth of *Taue* up stil by the Est Ripe of it a good half Mile above *Cairdif* and there *Landaf* Commote taketh the Est Ripe, and so kepith on stil to above *Landaph* Bridge,* and then *Kibworth* taketh the Est Ripe of *Taue* agayn, and so goith up to the Hille of *Keuen On* and there is the kefinith of *Kibworth*.

This description makes Kibbor comprise the parishes of Roath, Llanedeyrn, Llanishen, Lisvaen, the portions of the parishes of Saint John the Baptist and Saint Mary which are east of the Taff, and a part of the parish of Whitchurch, for although Rhys Myryke describes Whitchurch as being in Caerphilly Hundred there can be no doubt that a part of the modern parish was in the Commote or Lordship of Kibbor, as is shown by the description of the boundaries of Senghenydd in the surveys of that Lordship. Whitchurch was a member of Senghenydd, but the bounds of the Lordship did not include the whole of the modern parish.

It may probably be assumed that the boundary line of Kibbor from the Taff to Cefn Onn corresponded with the boundary between the Lordships of Kibbor and Senghenydd. The Hundred of Kibbor, or the hundred of Cardiff, as it is called in Speed, Camden, and Rhys Myryke, included more than the old Commote. It comprised the whole of St. John the Baptist's and Saint Mary's parishes, and also Llandaff, but not (according to Speed's map and Rhys Myryke) the parish of Radyr, which was then in the hundred of Llantrissant. I am not aware at what date the name of Kibbor was given to what was formerly known as Cardiff Hundred, or when the Parish of Radyr was added to it.

* This is evidently not correct, as Senghenydd comes in and borders on the Taff north of Llandaff.

In 1876 there was added to the Petty Sessional Division, which previously corresponded to the Hundred, the parish of Saint Fagans and part of Eglwysilan.

Leland's is the only old account of the Commote of Kibbor with which I am acquainted, but in very many old documents lands are described as lying in Kibbor, and wherever the situation of such lands has been ascertained I have always found it to be consistent with Leland's account.

Rhys Myryke, writing of Cardiff Hundred, says :—

> Most part of this Hundred, in the old time, was called Kybor which was endued with libertyes and priviledges above the rest, as before I have remembred, and therefore termed, in Welsh " Comod Bryniol ".

Some of these privileges he elsewhere particularises, as that the Coroner of Glamorgan must hold lands in Kibbor, and that two of the suitors of Kibbor must sit on the lower bench in the Shire Hall on the giving judgment upon life and death. It has been remarked that Kibbor is not included in the list of lordships, etc., enumerated in 27 Hen. VIII, Cap. 26, (s.2), which were to unite to the County of Glamorgan, while Llandaff is mentioned. This, I venture to think, is not strange. Rhys Myryke states and Mr. G. T. Clarke has made it clear, that there existed previously to this Statute what was called the " County of Glamorgan " and also divers districts or lordships included in the expression " Morgan," " Morganwg," or, as the Statute calls it, " Mordonnoke," and known as the " members ". These had distinct and peculiar jurisdictions and laws and customs of their own.

The object of the Statute was to unite these various districts (as well as Gower, which was a separate Signory) to the County of Glamorgan. It was not necessary to name Kibbor, because it was already part of the " body " of the County. For the

same reason the whole district comprised in the modern hundred of Dinas Powys is not named. Llandaff was named probably as having been previously within the jurisdiction of the Bishops.

The derivation of the name of Kibbor has not, I believe, been ascertained, but I am inclined to think it may at one time have been the name of the hilly ridge afterwards known as Cefn Onn.

In a grant of Gilbert de Clare to Keynsham Abbey, printed in Dugdale's *Monasticon*, appears " magnum vivarium subtus Kybur ad occidentem," which seems consistent with Kibbor being a hill or ridge. Kibbor is bounded on the north by the great Lordship of Senghenydd co-extensive practically with the Hundred of Caerphilly, but there is some evidence that at one time Senghenydd was considered as extending to the sea. In *Lib. Land.*, p. 255, there is a grant to Llandaff by " Mouric rex gulatmorcant " in which is the following : " Et alteram uillam tref eliau nseghenid, idest uilla filiorum quichtrit agrum trium modiorum . . . . Finis tref eliau orguoun betimor longitudine o tref licotuc bet tref tecan latitudine," which last words are translated thus " The boundary of Tref Eliau from the Weun (*cp* Pen-y-Weun) as far as the sea in length from Tre Ligotuc as far as Tre Tegan in width." This passage seems clearly to treat Senghenydd as extending to the sea. (*Quaere* whether the Splott before referred to as holden of the Bishop of Llandaff may be a remnant of the property granted). ¶Whether the district afterwards known as Kibbor was or was not at one time comprised in Senghenydd, there is a long succession of mediaeval documents containing references to Kibbor. The earliest I know of is the agreement between Robert Consul and Urban, Bishop of Llandaff, in 1126, contained in *Lib. Land.* where the right is granted to the Bishop and his men of taking wood in the woods of the Earl, " Kibbor excepted ". Also common pasture " without Kibbor ". A grant of John, Earl of Moreton (afterwards king), printed in Dugdale's *Monasticon*, to the Augustine

Canons of Bristol has the following (the charter being a confirmation of a grant of William, Earl of Gloucester, son of the Countess Mabel, daughter of Robert FitzHamon, and wife of Robert Consul, which original grant must have been prior to 1183, when Earl William died).

> " Concedo etiam eis et confirmo C acras terrae in Kiburgh inter Dunleis et Kenelechi et Runnam et Douestone ex transverso in transversum quas habent de dono comitis Willelmi Glouc. sicut carta sua testatur."

" Dunleis " is the brook Dulais which flows into the River Rumney. " Kenelechi " reads like a corruption of Cefnllechau though there is now no place known by that name.* There is, however, Cefn Coed. " Runna " no doubt is Rumney. A survey of Lord Tredegar's Manor of Roath Keynsham in 1703 shows that the Augustine Canons formerly held land here. The land described seems to be part of Coed-y-Goras farm. " Douestone " is a name which seems to have disappeared.

A grant of Gilbert de Clare to Keynsham Abbey (1217-1230) is of interest because it doubtless represents the present Manor of Roath Keynsham. The following is the extract :—

> " Et totum parcum de Rumeya (Rumney) et totam piscariam et piscacionem fluminis de Rumeya, et utrumque vivarium de Raz cum molendino et magnum vivarium subtus Kibur ad occidentem et omnes landas de Raz et totam forestam de Kybur sicut eam liberius et quiecius avus meus dom. W. comes Gloucestriae unquam tenuit exceptis donationibus prius ab eo exinde factis."

* " Kenelechi " is almost certainly the early name of the Roath Brook containing the old river-name *Ken, e.g.*, in the rivers Kenn, Kennet, Kenfig, etc., and *leck* a generic term for a stream common in form of " lake " in mediaeval times in the coast-lands of South Wales and equated by " brook," " nant." Roath Brook is referred to in a Cardiff will of the eighteenth century as the " Nant Lecky Brook "—a combination of three generic terms—and the old bridge over the brook at what is now Penylan Road was known until recent times as the " Pont Lecky."
" Douestone " is probably the old Dowton Farm now on the map as " Downton " near Rumney Village. D. R. P.

Within Kibbor also was the ancient Manor of Llystalybont, probably granted prior to the grant to Keynsham, and of which a survey made in 1653 exists. The extent of this manor in 1653 can be fairly well ascertained, but it was probably of somewhat greater extent in former times, as Llantarnam and Margam Abbeys both seem to have had "granges" in Llystalybont, presumably grants made to them by the Lords of that Manor.

The Manor, or reputed Manor, of Roath Tewkesbury consisted of the possessions in Kibbor formerly held by Tewkesbury Abbey. In a roll 33 Hen. VIII, printed in Dugdale, there appears in the list of the possessions of Tewkesbury, the following :—

"Lanissen et Lucyveyn Firm Terr et Mans."

The places named are no doubt Llanishen and Lisvane.

What the possessions of Tewkesbury Abbey were I have not been able to define, but after the dissolution of the monasteries the Manor of Roath Tewkesbury, consisting, no doubt, of those possessions, passed into the hands of Sir George Herbert.

Speaking of Llanedeyrn, Rhys Myryke says: "William Herbert hath a Mannour therein esteemed . . . plough land, within it is the Chappell of Lanvorda." Sir William Herbert was the grandson of Sir George Herbert and his manor in Llanedeyrn was no doubt part of Roath Tewkesbury. Other part was in the parish of Roath. In *Cartae* (vol. i. p. 133), is a confirmation to Tewkesbury by Nicholas, Bishop of Llandaff (1153-1183) of all the churches and benefices which the Abbey held in his diocese, containing, *inter alia* :—

> "videlicet ecclesiam parochialem Stae. Mariae de Kayrdif cum capellam de castello, capellam Sti. Johannis, capellam Sti. Thomae, capellam de Raht, capellam de Sti. Dionisii de Kibur, capellam de Liffenni, capellam Sti. Edern, capellam de Lanbordan, etc."

This last is the Chapel of Lanvorda mentioned by Rhys Myryke. The Chapel of St. Denis may be Lisvane Church, which is dedicated to St. Denis, but it may be mentioned that on the old one-inch ordnance there is another place marked "Capel Denis." The site would seem to be now occupied by a cottage a short distance west of the Rhymney Railway, near Rhydlydan. In the *Annals of Tewkesbury*, p. 100, A.D. 1235, there is :—

> "Nos concessimus domino E(liae) Landavensi episcopo et loci capitulo ecclesiam de Lanedern cum pertinentiis suis, retentis decimis de Lanbordan ad opus prioris de Kardif, cuius mensae pertinere dinoscuntur."

The various grants out of Kibbor, therefore, were to St. Augustines, Bristol, Roath Keynsham, Roath Tewkesbury, Llystalybont, certain lands apparently never treated as constituting a manor.

Further, a large part of this district consisted of the Great and Little Heaths, over which the Burgesses of Cardiff had rights of common under their ancient charters, and which were enclosed early in the present century. The other Lordship in Kibbor was Roath or Roath Dogfield, as to the extent of which much difficulty exists. The derivation of the name has not been ascertained, and the earliest document I have met with in which it occurs is a confirmation by Henry I to Tewkesbury (*Cartae* I, p. 39), of A.D. 1106, where it appears as Raz. In the confirmation by Bishop Nicholas mentioned on the last page the date of which is given as 1153-1183, the name is Raht. In a charter of Edward I (*Cartae* III, p. 770) it appears as Raz. It also appears as "Rad" (*Cartae* I, p. 223), "Rahat," "Raath," etc. In later documents it appears as "Rotti," "Rothe" and finally as "Roath."

The earliest instance in the manorial accounts in which I have found the Manor of Roath described with the addition of

Dogfield is an account of Ministers for the year ending Michaelmas 39 Eliz., when it appears thus " Rothe, dogfeilde ". Rhys Myryke, p. 91, speaking of the parish of Roath, states that it is divided into " 3 Lordshipps or Mannours viz. The Lordship of Roth Dogfilde. Henry, Earle of Pembroch, is now Lord, whereof the other two Lordes doe hould ".

" Within it is a place called *Beth y ky dy,*" whereof it is supposed the Lordship was name Dogfild." This place, " Cae bedd y Ci du " or " field of the Black dog's grave ", is a known place in the parish of Llanishen. It is mentioned in a Minister's account temp. Hen. VIII, and elsewhere, and was undoubtedly parcel of the Manor.

The other two Manors referred to by Myryke are Roath Keynsham and Roath Tewkesbury, but I have met with no evidence that they were held of Roath Dogfield, except Myryke's statement.

Rhys Myryke also says of Roath Dogfield : " This Lordship in the elder time was counted of great boundage ".

With regard to the name " Dogfield " Rhys Myryke's statement is the only actual evidence that I have found that the name was derived from the place called "Bedd y ci du," though, perhaps, the fact that the name is somewhat specially mentioned in the account temp. Hen. VIII before referred to may be considered as giving some support to his statement.

I have thought, however, that it is possible that the name may have been derived in another way. A man named William Docguel or Doggeuel certainly held land in Roath. Thus in a grant by Richard Bulchart to Margam (*Cartae* I, p. 223), dated as late 12th century, five acres are described.

> " que jacent inter pratum Willelmi Docgeuel et pratum hominum de Rad ".

In *Cartae* I, p. 181, is a notification by W. Doggeuel of his grant to Margam, described as " de libero tenemento meo " and

" totum pratum meum quod habui subtus Rahat in marisco versus australem partem . . . Ita quod si aliquod servitium aliquando inde requisitum fuerit sive domini Regis sive aliud ego vel heredes mei illud faciemus."

The same grant includes: " Et in terra mea de Lisbonit (Llystalybont) acram unum ubi elegere voluerint." It is true that these documents are consistent with W. Doggeuel having held lands in Roath and Llystalybont of the Lords of those manors. But in an agreement between the Houses of Caerleon and Margam (*Cartae*, II, p. 589), relating to land " between the Taf and Dufleis " (a brook flowing into the Rumney) reference is made to " terram Duc de feudo Dogefel ". I cannot identify the word " Duc ". But the passage shows that some district was known as " the fee of Dogefel ", and it appears possible that the name may be connected with Dogfield and also with the William Doggeuel before mentioned. He may have had a grant of lands in Kibbor which subsequently fell into the Lord's hands. Still, if this were so, it is singular to find the Manor of Roath Dogfield appearing as " Roath " only in the mediaeval Ministers accounts and inquisitions, the name " Dogfield " appearing first in these documents in the reign of Elizabeth.

It appears clear that the Manors of Llystalybont, Roath, Tewkesbury, and Roath Keynsham had their origin in grants by the Lords of Glamorgan of lands forming part of the old Commote of Kibbor, and that the greater part, if not the whole of that Commote, which was not so granted out, afterwards constituted part of Roath or Roath Dogfield.

The manor of Roath, however, is never referred to as "within" Kibbor, and there is no doubt that it included lands in the parish of Saint Mary, Cardiff, lying east of the River Taff and also some west of that river, and, therefore, not within Kibbor, if Leland's description is correct.

CHAPTER X.

OLD NAMES OF PLACES IN ROATH AND LECKWITH.

Roath.

The general character of the place-names in the neighbourhood of Cardiff at the end of the fifteenth century may be gathered from a Minister's Account for the Manor of Roath (2-3 Henry VII), in which the following names of places, apparently mostly fields, appear.

Adamsdown is the only one of these names which occurs in the Tithe Terrier.

Barberescrofte.
Blakeacre.
Brendon. Brendon Lane.
The Backes.
Behynde the Walles.
Courtfurlonge, Little
Courtfurlonge, Great
Croftfurlonge.
Grenehorde.
Guldenhokes or
Gyldenhokes.
Fenne Brugge.
Holemede, or—
identified from old plan.
Oldmede.
Nebbercrofte.
Portfeld.
Portmannesmore.
Margerislonde—
identified from old plan.
Skottescrofte.
Reveacre.
Saltemede.
Robertyscrofte.
Smale Wall.
Reddeforlonge.
Seforlonge.
Spoderslonde.
Suckleyscrofte.
Spyremede.

Haywardesplot.
Lytelcrofte.
Meweslese, or
Meweleslese.
Spodescrofte.
Wardropes Leys
(described as " apud furcas").
Waterlederyscrofte.

Toffemede.† There is a Taff Mead west of the Taff.

Yelonde. There is a place known as " the Island Farm " now occupied by buildings. Perhaps the same.

In the same account " unum fossatum " is referred to.

Rhys Myryke, speaking of Roath, says :—" Within it stood an old Pyle, compassed with a Mote, which is called ' The Court ' but now in ruyne " (p. 91). Probably the " fossatum " of the account and the " old Pyle " may be what is now known as Roath Court, or the building formerly on its site.

Leckwith.

It may be noted with regard to Leckwith, as with respect to the parishes generally in the neighbourhood of Cardiff, that in mediaeval times English place-names very generally prevailed, indicating that the land was occupied by English tenants. At a later date a change took place and a large number of the English names completely disappeared.

It does not seem as if old Welsh names were revived, but rather that new Welsh names were given, often not of a very distinctive character, such as Tair Erw, Chwech Erw, etc., simply indicating the number of acres, or Cae dan y ty, or Waun-y-bont, referring to situation and not really place-names at all.

† The form *Toff* or *Toof* shows that the vowel of *Taf* was regarded as the Old English long *a* and followed its Middle English development into *o*—a change also illustrated in early *Rath* becoming *Roath*. D. R. P.

In documents temp. Hen. VII and Eliz. the following place-names are to be found. Only those marked * have been identified at all. Those marked ** are still in use.

It seems that many, probably most, of the occupiers were Welsh in 1570. In the cases where tenants bear English names it is possible that Welsh undertenants may have occupied the premises. In the Survey of 1570 no Welsh names of places appear at all, however.

In 1630 we get Cae-Rosser, and in 1666 Gwaun-y-Cwm and Cae-Glas. By 1773 the change to Welsh names was fairly complete.

* Rusham.
* Rogers Hook.
** Bullcroft.
* Wynneway.
Bedcrofte.
Oldcrofte.
Torcotefeld.
Danyellkokes.
† Crosham.
Harpacre.
Smale mead.
Lez Crosseham.
Elys Crosse.
Gorslande or Corsland.
Develes mead.
* Rydgeway.
* Stirte.
Forlandes Close.
Heringes Hey.
Lez Ludwell.
* Leckwith Grange.
Donnyng's Mead.
Watt Abytte's Close.
* Buttlandes (probably y Buttlongs of 1773 Map).
Wythmoor.
** Bernewill. (Brynwell.)
** White Farm.
** Lancross.
Eston.

† May this have been corrupted into Y Grosson?

CHAPTER XI.

NOTES ON GLAMORGAN MANORS.

In dealing with manorial questions at the present time, when manorial courts (Courts Leets and Courts Baron) have so largely fallen into disuse, and surveys have not in many cases been held for long periods (sometimes centuries), it is very easy to fall into error as to the manors in which lands are situate, and as to who is the lord.

I believe it is a presumption of law (capable of disproof by evidence) that where a manor and parish bear the same name they have the same boundaries, and are in fact identical pieces of land.

This is the presumption, but, so far as I have been able to investigate the matter, it is rarely true in fact as to Glamorgan. Though a manor may bear the same name as a parish, and be mainly identical with the parish, it is rare to find that it is wholly so. Generally the parish will contain land held of some other manor, and the manor will comprise land held in some other parish or parishes.

Leckwith appears to be one of the rare instances where a parish and manor really are identical. St. Nicholas is an instance which is conspicuously the other way. St. Nicholas manor extends into St. Nicholas, St. Georges and Llancarvan parishes, while in St. Nicholas parish are lands of St. Georges and Walterston manors, the last itself a sub-manor of Wenvoe.

A considerable difficulty in determining who were lords of manors at different times arises from sub-division. I mean that when a lord of a manor died, leaving two or three daughters

his co-heiresses, each would be entitled to an undivided half or third of the manor and to receive half or a third of the rents, etc. This, however, of course did not make two or three manors.

It further happened, although each daughter (and her descendants) would be entitled to a proportion of all the rents of the lands held of the manor, yet, presumably for convenience, in the cases of some divided manors, it became the practice for one to take all the rent of some farms while the other took all the rent of others, while in the case of some items the rents would be divided, though not always iu equal shares. This practice, together with changes in the value of lands, could, and, in fact did, lead to one " moiety " of a manor becoming worth more than another.

Then, when the manor of A was divided, say among three daughters, it often happened that a descendant of one of them would grant by deed " all his manor of A ", just as if he had the whole of it. This has naturally often given rise to misconceptions. A writer sees that at some period John Smith granted to Thomas Jones his manor of A, and comes to the conclusion that at that time Smith was and Jones became lord of that manor, whereas in truth the transaction only related to a share of it.

Then, as regards modern repute as to who is lord of a certain manor, it has happened that a lord of a share only has kept up his courts, whilst the owners of other shares have allowed their courts to lapse. This has led, in modern times, to some particular family being seemed to be lords of " the manor," while in fact they may only have a share, and it may now be impossible to find out who are lords of the other portions or shares. I know instances of this.

Then there were the so-called " manors " of the monasteries, which in many cases were not manors at all. No doubt a monastery might have a manor granted to it, as Margam and

others had, but there were other cases where the monks called scattered possessions "manors", and held courts, though probably without due authority, and these have now become accounted manors.

Then it has happened that what were originally (and still must be in fact) sub-manors, held of some other manor or lordship of which at one time they must have formed part, are now accounted as independent manors.

There has also been a good deal of misconception as to what a "knight's fee" meant, and various writers have dealt with the question as to what quantity of land, or land of what value, a normal knight's fee consisted. Some of these writers are of such authority that I would not venture to dispute what they say, and think it quite likely that in some parts of the country a normal knight's fee might mean something in the way of extent or value. But in Glamorgan I cannot see that it meant anything more than the service subject to which a man was to hold his lands. If he could get a large tract granted to him to hold by the service of one knight rather than two or three, so much the better for him. It does not follow, in this district, that a man who held two knights' fees was better off than a man who held one. It might be quite the other way.

Cogan was two knights' fees, and is put down in the *Extent* of 1262 as worth £10. Dinaspowys was 3½ fees (*Cartae* II, p. 650), but put down as worth £60. One fee in Cosmeston is worth £10, and 4 fees in Aberthaw (St. Athan) are worth £15. No doubt these are only rough estimates in round numbers, but later information as to actual values, which is available in some cases, tends to show that they are approximately right. The cases of Cogan and Dinaspowys are proportioned to the value or extent of the land. Dinaspowys must have always exceeded Cogan in a much greater proportion that 3½ to 2.

It is probably impossible now to form any very definite opinion as to the reasons for these differences. As in the case of the conquest of England, no doubt FitzHamon and the other conquerors of lands in the Marches of Wales were assisted by various adventurers who hoped to get and did get lands in Wales. The terms on which lands were granted by Fitz-Hamon or his successor Robert of Gloucester, to hold as of the Castle of Cardiff, may have varied according to the importance of the granter's services or his influence with the chief lord.

BOVERTON AND LLANTWIT.

In Seebohm's *English Village Community* it is stated, and shown from *Domesday*, that, while English manorial customs prevailed on the Gloucestershire side of the Wye, Welsh customs, with food rents, etc., prevailed on the other side, now Monmouthshire, except on the Caldicot Level, the strip along the Channel.

It might be expected that the same would be the case throughout Glamorgan, then under Welsh rule, but there are some facts which seem to throw some doubt upon the question as regards what is known as the Vale of Glamorgan, the most fertile portion of the county, lying along the sea coast.

One of two things seems certain, either that some districts in the Vale were worked under the Welsh princes very much as English manors at the time of FitzHamon's conquest, or else that this event was not a mere substitution of Norman for Welsh Lords, leaving the conditions of holding by the cultivators of the soil untouched, but that the conquerors must at a very early date have deliberately changed existing customs and introduced manors, after the English model, in the place of the Welsh system. That this, if done at all, was done very early appears likely, because an elaborate system of bond

tenants required to cultivate the lord's land, and perform other servile works, would hardly have been instituted for the first time at a date when the practice of commuting such works for a money payment was becoming prevalent, as was the case in this district in the earlier part of the fourteenth century, if not sooner. (See below account of John Giffard.)

A fact that points to the Welsh system having been early done away with is that the earliest lists of Welsh cantrevs and commotes say nothing of "commotes" of East Thawe and West Thawe, mentioned by Leland, and it may well be doubted whether these were really the names of Welsh commotes at all. However this may be, it is certain that the names do not occur in the early Welsh lists.

Further, in the various mediaeval accounts relating to these districts there is no trace of the old food rents. In fact, in these documents there seems to be nothing, so far as the Vale manors are concerned, that might not have been found in a manor in the middle of England, except, indeed, the occasional reference to the lands held "per Walescariam," which occasionally existed within the bounds of manors most of the lands in which were held according to the English system. The fact, however, that there were such lands seems to be an argument against the view that manors in the English sense began before the conquest. If they did, why should a few fragments have continued to be held on the Welsh system? The circumstance that a great number of English tenants were evidently introduced into the Vale also rather supports the idea that the conquerors introduced a new system of tenure, and brought in Englishmen of the villein class to work it

An examination has been made of several documents relating to the manor known as Boverton and Llantwit, and notes of their contents are annexed. This is a manor which, from the time of the Conquest onwards, was always in the

hands of the chief lord, with the exception of certain lands which no doubt formed the endowment of the old Welsh monastery there, and which upon the conquest were made over to the Abbey of Tewkesbury. It may be doubted whether these can have formed the whole of the estates of the Welsh monastery in its most flourishing days. It is an extremely fertile district, containing some of the best agricultural land in the county, and may be regarded as one in which tribal customs and shifting occupation of land would be likely to disappear as early as anywhere.

There is no doubt that there were always some Welshmen there, though they seem to have held their lands in the same way as the Englishmen. We have here no lands held in Welshery, and no rent of avoury, such as we find elsewhere paid by Welshmen holding no lands but apparently having some right of pasturage on the waste, of which last there was little or none in Llantwit.

By 1262, the *Extent* of that year or thereabouts, probably taken on the death of Richard de Clare, though its informat on is somewhat meagre, clearly indicates the existence of a regularly constituted English manor, or a manor *like* those in England, with demesne lands, free tenants, and a large (though not stated) number of " customary " or villein tenants bound to do servile works. There is no mention here of the free cottagers, who appear in the next account, but they may be included under the head of " free tenants."

The next document is the Inquisition of 1295 on the death of Gilbert de Clare, son of Richard, taken at a time when there had just been a serious Welsh rising in the county, which may probably account for the number of customary tenants said to have been destroyed by war. In this case the jury consisted of six free and six customary tenants, and not one of them bears a Welsh name. Here it will be noticed that the rents of free tenants and free cottagers together come to

£9 9s. 1d., or £1 19s. 3¼d. less than that of the free tenants of 1262. Perhaps the war might account for this. It also shows that in 1262 the free cottagers were included with the free tenants.

There are 120 bond cottagers as compared with 80 in 1262. Their "works" show that the same class is meant. The holdings of the customary tenants (including those destroyed by war) are almost the same, 2,116 acres as compared with 2,115 acres.

Their rents and services added together come to exactly the same, viz., £42 18s. 0d. In addition there is in both accounts the curious obligation to get in the hay of 18½ acres at Cardiff (some 15 miles distant). On the whole, these two accounts show much the same state of things.

The next is the I.P.M. of 1307. Here the value of the works of the bond cottagers is put at 1½d. per work instead of 1d. as before. The number of customary tenants is much less than in 1295, being 88 only, but they hold nearly the same land, 2,105 acres as against 2,116, and it is expressly said that 87 of them hold 24 acres each. From what appears below this 24 acres holding appears to have been deemed a "virigate".

Then comes the I.P.M. of 1314, when the number of customary tenants is said to be 130, but their holdings are still 2,105 acres, and the rents practically the same as in 1307. The cottagers' works are here put as worth 1d. each, which suggests that the 1½d. of 1307 may have been an error.

Passing over for the moment the account of 1316, it may be mentioned here that in the I.P.M. of 1349 we get 89 customary tenants, of whom one is "semivirgatarius" and one "quartrovar." Now, it seems practically certain that the 87 were "virgatarii" and held 24 acres each. This would make 2,088 acres, and, adding 17 acres for the "semivirgatarius" and "quartrovar," we get 2,105 acres, exactly the quantity

in the accounts of 1307 and 1314. No doubt, the holdings were really the same, but the variation in the number of tenants, as stated in the different accounts, is curious. Perhaps it may be accounted for by some sharing or sub-division among the tenants, recognised by some of those who were responsible for the descriptions but not by others.

In these Inquisitions we get also a number of free cottagers, a class which does not seem to be mentioned in English manors. Perhaps most of them were holders of houses in Llantwit itself, a place which, though it never received a charter, must have been as considerable in population as many boroughs of that time.

Going back to the account of John Giffard de Brimmesfeld, printed by Mr. Clark, he was Custos of the County while it was in the hands of the King after the death of Gilbert de Clare, and the account is for about five months, from 20th April to 29th September, 1316. As might be expected, it confirms, generally, the Inquisition of 1314. Inconsistencies may be accounted for by the circumstance that a good deal of confusion may have been caused by the rising of Llewelyn Bren, then just suppressed. Also, this is not the account of the actual reeve of the manor, who would probably have put down everything that ought to have been received in detail, and, if not actually got in, would have stated the reason, but only a statement of what actually reached the hands of the accounting officer, based, probably, on the account rendered to him by the reeve.

The chief matter of importance connected with this account is the evidence it affords that the "sale" of works, or commuting them for a money payment, was then in full force. It will be seen that all the agricultural works seem to have been sold, and the actual work itself to have been done by men who worked for wages. The sum received much exceeded that paid in wages.

This practice may have begun from a much earlier date. Evidently it was fully established in 1316, and probably we may take it that the actual performance of servile works had ceased in Llantwit at that time.

It is therefore clear that there was at Llantwit a manor like the English manors, and probably a considerable English population, which last fact is supported by later documents—in which more names appear. On the whole, it seems more likely that this system, in its completeness at least, was introduced by the conquerors, rather than that it existed in Welsh times.

By the time of the death of Edward le Despenser there seems to have been some considerable changes, but there is nothing to show to what extent the Black Death may have affected Llantwit. The I.P.M. was taken at Cardiff and perhaps not with the same care as the older ones.

The general receipts have not fallen off so much as might appear at first, as the perquisites of court and mills account for most of the difference. The mills are described as decayed or defective (debilia). As to the perquisites of court, it may be noted that in Hugh le Despenser's I.P.M. they are found in most cases throughout his various Glamorgan manors to be very much higher than in the earlier records, and it may be added that in one case at least, that of Senghenydd *subtus*, in Edward le Despenser's I.P.M. they are entered at much less than they really amounted to. In the I.P.M. the pleas and perquisites are entered as £30, but the actual Minister's Account for 1373–74 is extant, and shows that in that year they actually came to £144 7s. 4d., and this it would seem, without any extraordinary windfall, as the amount received at each court is given.

It looks as if these sources of income were levied with much greater severity under the Despensers than under the de Clares. As to the rents of tenants and the amount taken by

the Abbot of Neath, there is some inconsistency in the accounts. The actual amount which Gilbert de Clare, on 13th April, 1289, granted to the Abbot of Neath out of the rents of Llantwit was £25 17s. 0¾d., but in the account given in the I.P.M. of 1295 it is stated as £22 18s. 4½d. In this account the rents of free and customary tenants and cottagers, out of which the Abbot was to receive his money, come to £22 18s. 4½d. exactly. It therefore seems that the figure mentioned is intended, not for what was *due* to the Abbot, but what he actually had, being all the rent there was in that year, the figures being probably based upon what was in fact paid. In the I P.M. of 1314 the full sum is mentioned, and the rents named would more than suffice to pay it. John Giffard's account also indicates payment in full.

In the I.P.M. of Hugh le Despenser nothing is said about the Abbot, but the rents are stated at so much less than before that it looks as if the amount paid to the Abbot was not brought in at all, *i.e.*, that the rents in the I.P.M. represent what was left after paying the Abbot. The same remark applies to the I.P.M. of Edward le Despenser.

In the Minister's Account of 1492 the sum described as assigned to the Abbot is put at £24 11s. 9½d., evidently here again not meant to represent what was granted but what there was to pay it.

It may be noted that in the Earl of Pembroke's Survey of 1570 "works" have disappeared altogether, the amount formerly paid for them being no doubt treated as rent. There is here £9 4s. 5½d. free rent, stated to be paid to the Queen in right of the Abbey of Neath. There is also mentioned a quantity of customary land, of which it is said that the rent is 4½d. per acre and in addition 1½d. per acre paid to the Queen for the Abbot's rent. It is impossible to tell exactly how much customary land there then was, as there were a few

customary holdings, the extent of which is not stated, but 1,777 acres can be made out, which would mean £33 6s. 4½d. for the Lord and £11 2s. 1½d. for the Queen.

Generally the documents appear to indicate that the actual performance of servile works by customary tenants had ceased by 1316, very probably earlier, but that equal or nearly equal holdings continued down to the time of Hugh le Despenser, and possibly that of Edward le Despenser, and on to the time of Owen Glyndwr's rising, which is no doubt what is referred to in 1402 as the rebellion of Wales. That must necessarily have very much upset matters, and by 1402 the old system had practically disappeared.

In Glamorgan generally, in the Inquisitions, etc., the references to customary tenants or "native," and sources or "customs," are mostly confined to the Vale manors, and existed to a much greater extent in Llantwit than elsewhere. The references to this form of holding are found in Llanbleddian, Talavan, Roath, Leckwith, Dinaspowis, Llanharry, Pentyrch, and Clun (part of Miskin), and Album Monasterium or Whitchurch (part of Senghenydd).

It is found in those districts which were earliest conquered and not in those which until the 13th century were under Welsh Lords, such as Senghenydd proper, Miskin proper, Glynrhondda, Ruthyn, etc.

It is said by Seebohm (p. 39) that in Huntingdonshire, at the time of the Hundred Rolls (Edw. I), a normal knight's fee seems to have consisted of four hides, which at 120 acres to the hide would be 480 acres, and the render of 40s. for each knight's fee would be 1d. per acre.

In Stubb's *Constitutional History* (Vol. I, p. 288) £20 is spoken of as the ordinary value of a knight's fee. However, as far as Glamorgan is concerned (though it would take long to

give all the reasons for the opinion), it appears clear that at the time of the *Extent* of 1262 the knight's fees then existing, and of which various manors were reputed to consist, had practically no relation to either the extent or value of the holdings.

One instance may be given :—Cogan, which cannot in the whole have contained much more than 600 acres, is treated as *two* knights' fees, worth £10 ; Dinaspowis is only 3½ knights' fees, but valued at £60.

In a Survey of Hugh le Despenser, according to a summary of it printed in Rhys Myryke, Cogan is said to contain four " ploughlands ", Dinaspowis twenty-two, which is much more like the proportion indicated by the values stated in 1262. Much more might be quoted to the same effect. It may be that in Glamorgan several of the holdings were fixed (*i.e.*, the number of knights' fees at which they were to be estimated) at a very early date, and that a large tract, at that time to a large extent uncultivated, or with a number of Welshmen in it, may have been granted as representing but a small number of knights' fees, while a compact manor, nearly all in cultivation and under complete control, might be granted as representing a proportionately much greater number of knights' fees. Those who took a leading part in the original conquest, on account of that fact, and their influence with the chief lord, *may* have had granted to them large tracts for a comparatively small service. These reasons, or some of them, may have accounted for a knight's fee in Glamorgan meaning something different from what it meant in England.

Anyhow, by the year 1300 it would seem to be impossible to infer anything as to either the extent or value of a man's possessions in Glamorgan from the number of knights' fees he held.

SUMMARIES OF INQUISITIONS, ETC.

EXTENT 1262.

	£	s.	d.
Rent of free tenants	11	8	4¼
565a. of arable land in demesne 6d. per acre ..	14	2	6
14a. meadow at 18d.	1	1	0
147a. pasture at 4d.	2	9	0
Pasture of grove called Coytlou*	0	10	0
Dovecote	0	5	0
Garden	0	5	0
Market and Fair	3	0	0
Mill (should be " Mills ")	17	0	0
Customary tenants hold 2,116 acres—Their rents and services	42	18	0
6 men in the same manor ought to plough 10 acres of land of the lord	0	4	2
80 cottagers reap 1 day. The Lord finding food	0	6	8
The same should gather 14 acres of hay ..	0	1	2
The customary tenants, the lord finding food, should mow and gather 18½ acres at Kerdif†	0	6	9
One smith, for his land should make five pairs of plough irons	0	7	6
Pleas and perquisites	5	0	0

I.P.M. 1295. GILBERT DE CLARE.

Jurors—six free and six customary tenants. (All bear English names.)

	£	s.	d.
Thirty-three free tenants hold 800 acres, 1 rood of land and render	7	11	3
156 free cottagers (cotarii) render	1	17	10
120 bond (nativi) cottagers render	1	14	8

* Now corrupted into " Colhugh."

† *i.e.*, Taff Mead.

	£	s.	d.
These ought to reap for 1 day in Autumn the Earl finding food and the work is worth, less the food	0	10	0
And also to gather and carry 14 acres of meadow without food, the work worth	0	1	2
136 customary tenants who hold 1,877 acres of land, price of the acres 1½d. and render yearly as rent of assise	11	14	7½
And besides this their works and services due for each acre are extended at 4½d. worth yearly	35	3	10½
Of the same tenure 239 acres are in the hands of the Lord Earl which were in the hands of 18 customary tenants destroyed by war who used to render yearly	1	9	10½
And their works and services used to be worth yearly	4	9	7½
The customary tenants who now are ought to mow and collect 18½ acres of meadow at Cardiff the lord finding food, the work, less food, worth	0	6	9
In demesne 565a. 3½r. of arable land, price per acre 4 worth yearly	9	8	4
At Coutlou and Wildmore 14a. of meadow, price per acre 12d. worth yearly	0	14	0
And at Lathamesmore and Whytemore 14a. ½r. of meadow, price per acre 8d. worth yearly	0	9	5
And there are there 147½a. of pasture, price of the acre 3d. worth	2	4	4½
And a certain other pasture in divers places, worth yearly	0	11	10
And a certain other pasture at Coytlou, worth yearly	0	5	0
Three mills, worth yearly	15	0	0
The toll of the market and fair, worth yearly ..	3	0	0
The pleas and perquisites of court, worth yearly	3	0	0

	£	s.	d.
The garden with the vegetables (herbagium), worth yearly	0	1	6
The dovecote at Boverton (Bouyareston), worth yearly	0	3	4
The *court of Boverton with the easements of houses, worth yearly	1	0	0
A certain smith holds 18 acres of land by the service of making and repairing five pairs of plough irons (ferrorr caruc) with iron of the Earl, the work worth yearly	0	7	6
Sum £95 5s 5½d. of which the Abbot of Neath takes yearly £22 18s. 4½d. on account of an exchange, etc., etc.			

I.P.M. 1307. JOAN DE CLARE.

A certain Court worth yearly with the easements of the houses	0	6	8
Three curtilages, the profits worth	0	5	4
One dovecote, worth yearly	0	5	0
566 acres in demesne, price of the acre 6d. ..	14	3	3
18 acres of land let to farm, per acre 6d. ..	0	9	0
14 acres of meadow, price of the acre 1s. 6d. ..	1	1	0
14 acres of meadow, price of the acre 1s. ..	0	14	0
170 acres of pasture, price of the acre 6d. ..	4	5	0
Two water mills and one windmill	15	0	0
Toll of the market of Llantwit, with the toll of the ports of Barry and Aberthaw, with the fair of Llantwit at the feast of St. Martin the Bishop	5	6	8
Rent of assize of free tenants and cottagers (coterelli)	11	10	6¾

* Probably what is elsewhere called the "manorium" or manor house.

	£	s.	d.
One free tenant renders yearly 8 horse shoes, worth	0	0	4
Four owe each two ploughings yearly (each worth 3d.)	0	2	0
Each also 3 Autumn works (each worth 2d.) ..	0	2	0
One ought to repair yearly 6 pairs of plough irons with iron of the Lord, price of the work of each plough 1s. 2d.	0	7	0
Of the cottagers there are 126 who owe 126 Autumn works, price of each work 1½d. ..	0	15	9
88 customary tenants hold 2,105 acres of land , of whom 87 hold 24 acres each, and one holds 17 acres and render	13	3	1½
(The 87 for a house and 24 acres, 3s. each, and the one for 17 acres 2s. 1½d.)			
They owe 88 works of ploughing yearly each work 5d., "and this if they have oxen of their owen"	1	16	8
Each to harrow for 5 days and a half yearly with one horse (uno affro) each (days) work worth 1½d.	3	0	6
Each to thresh 1¾ bushel for the winter sowing and 5 bushels of oats for the Lent sowing, price of the work (of each tenant) 1d. ..	0	7	4
Each to carry one load of brushwood to the manor house of Llantwit against Christmas. Each work 1d.	0	7	4
Each to carry timber for covering the booths at the fair. Each work 1d.	0	7	4
All the customary tenants to mow (between them) 14 acres of meadow at Coytlow, 4½d. per acre	0	5	3
Each to carry with his horse one load of hay from the meadow to the manor house. Price of each work ½d.	0	3	8

	£	s.	d.
Each owes 6 manual works in every month from the feast of St. Michael to the feast of St. Peter ad Vincula. Each work ½d. (*i.e.* each of the 88 tenants does 6 works each month for ten months or 5,280 works in all) ..	11	0	0
Each to carry rods for making sheepfolds and hurdles. Price of each work 1½d. ..	0	11	0
Each to work for 40 days from the 1st August to the feast of St. Michael. Price of each work 1d. (*i.e.* between them 3,520 days work in all)	14	13	4
Pleas and perquisites of Court (with Ruthyn) ..	5	0	0

I.P.M. 1314. GILBERT DE CLARE.

*One messuage with grange and cattle houses and other houses necessary	0	6	8
Dovecote	0	5	0
Three curtilages, worth yearly	0	5	4
In demesne 584½ acres of land, price of the acre 6d.	14	12	3
28 acres of meadow, price of the acre 1s. 3d. ..	1	15	0
170 acres of pasture, price of the acre 6d. ..	4	5	0
3 watermills and one windmill .. .. .. (Llantwit and Ruthyn being together, this no doubt included one mill at Ruthyn.)	16	0	0
A certain market the toll of which with the fair of St. Martin and the toll of the ports of Aberthawe, Barry, and Ogmore	5	0	0
Rent of assise of free tenants and cottagers ..	11	10	6¾
Two free tenants render 8 horse shoes	0	0	4
Four free tenants owe four ploughings for corn sowing and four for Lent sowing. Price of each ploughing 5d.	0	3	4

* The same probably that is elsewhere called "Court" or "Manorium.

	£	s.	d.
One free tenant ought to repair 6 pairs of plough-shares. Price of the work of a plough 14d.	0	7	0
130 customary tenants hold 2,105 acres and render yearly per acre 1½d.	13	4	1½
Each of these shall plough for winter and Lent sowing half an acre, namely one rood of land for each ox, as many as he yokes, and if he has no ox he shall plough nothing, nor pay instead of the work. And the works are worth by estimation	1	0	0
And each of them shall harrow his winter ploughing, and those works are worth by estimation	0	2	0
And the same customary tenants owe 433½ works of harrowing which are worth £1 16s. 1½d., namely for the tenure of 24 acres 5d. ..	1	16	1½
And the aforesaid customary tenants owe 173 threshing works for the winter sowing, namely 1¼ bushel of corn for each work, and for Lent sowing 5 bushels of oats for the work	0	14	5
And each of the customary tenants who has a horse shall carry one load of brushwood against Christmas, and these works are worth by estimation	0	5	0
And the customary tenants shall mow 20 acres of meadow, and the mowing is worth per acre 4d.	0	6	8
And they shall carry all the said hay from the meadow to the manor, and the carriage is worth	0	3	4
And there are there 126 cottagers who ought to collect and stack 14 acres of meadow, and those works are worth	0	2	4
And the cottagers owe 126 Autumn works, price of the work 1d.	0	10	6

	£	s.	d.
And the aforesaid customary tenants owe 1,590 manual works between the feast of St. Michael and 1st August, which are worth. Price of a work 1½d.	10	16	3
And they shall carry rods for making the sheep-fold, and those works are worth	0	2	0
And the said customary tenants owe between the feast of St. Peter ad Vincula and the feast of St. Michael 1,730 works. Price of a work 1d.	7	4	2
And the said customary tenants owe 1,730 Autumn works during the same time. Price of a work 2d.	14	8	4
And the aforesaid customary tenants shall have of the lord for their food 5½ quarters of corn, price 27s. 6d., and 11s. for cheese, and so the aforesaid Autumn works food deducted are worth	19	14	0
The pleas and perquisites of Llantwit and Ruthyn	6	13	4
The Abbot of Neath takes	25	17	0¾

ACCOUNT OF JOHN GIFFARD DE BRYMMESFELD CUSTOS, FROM 20 APRIL TO 29 SEPTEMBER 1316.

Rent of assise of free and customary tenants of Llantwit and Ruthyn* of St. John and St. Michael	13	19	0¾
For eight horse shoes of rent of assise	0	0	4
Issues of one dovecote	0	2	6
For pasture of 120 acres of arable land uncultivated this year	2	5	0
For vegetables sold (or gardens let)	0	3	0

* Fines relating to Ruthyn alone are omitted.

	£	s.	d.
For 170 acres of pasture and no more, because animals of the lord grazed the rest	2	11	0
Issues of 3 water mills and one windmill.. ..	7	6	8
For 27 quarters of oats sold at 3s. 4d. per quarter	4	10	0
For the works of certain free tenants who ought to repair 6 irons of ploughs	0	3	1
Received for 1,669 small works of the customary tenants of Llantwit during the same time, price of a work ½d.	3	9	6½
Received for 20 works of mowing, price of a work 4d.	0	6	8
For 1,670 works of reaping corn, price of a work 2d.	13	8	4
For 1,796 Autumn works, price of a work 1d. ..	7	9	8
Received of the said customary tenants for works of carrying rods to the folds of the lord. Price of a work ½d. .. .. (Total for the works £25 9s. 3½d.)	0	2	0
Pleas and perquisites, Llantwit and Ruthyn, Englishmen and Welshmen	6	0	9½
Tolls of Market of Llantwit and ports of Aberthaw, Barry and Ogmore	7	14	3½
Amongst the payments occur :—			
To the Abbot of Neath in part payment of £100 assigned to him	12	18	6½
Mowing 28 acres, 11s. 8d.	0	11	8
Haymaking 3s. " et residuum per famulos " ..			
Weeding 3s. " et residuum per famulos " ..	1	0	6
Weeding 100 acres of wheat in the beginning of May (by hand)	0	9	0
Weeding 114 acres 1r. of wheat, and 158½ acres of oats with hoes	0	11	6
Reaping 114a. 1r. of wheat, and 4a. 1r. at 6d. per acre	2	9	3
Reaping 159½ a. of oats, 4¼d. per acre	2	16	0½

	£	s.	d.
Wages of servants (famulorum) 1 carter and 3 ploughmen during the time aforesaid (*i.e.* of the account) each 3s.	0	18	0
Wages of five herds (fugatorum) each 2s. 6d. ..	0	12	6
Wages of a " Ripereve " also mentioned. There are also certain allowances of corn to the servants			
In the " Account of Works " 1,746 manual works of customary tenants are said to be from 20 April to 1 August, 14 weeks and 4 days at 119 works per week			
In acquittance of Reeve, Messor and Bedell 66 (works: one week short) Sold 1,669—Et puper compotum 10			
20 works of mowing Sold 1,730 Autumn works at 2d., and 1,856 of customary tenants and cottagers at 1d.			
Acquittance of Reeve, Messor and Bedell 120 works Sold 3,466			
48 works of carrying rods ½ per work Sold ..			
The Lord had 34 oxen			

I.P.M. 1349. HUGH LE DESPENSER.

A certain messuage called Boverton	0	6	8
A dovecote, worth..	0	5	0
In demesne 479a. 1r. of land of which 304 acres are worth 6d. per annum, and 175a. 1r. each 2d. per annum	9	1	2½
15a. 1r. meadow, worth per acre 2	1	10	6
139 acres pasture 4d. per acre	2	6	6
Grove called Coytlogh	0	2	0
Two water mills and one windmill	16	0	0
Fulling mill	1	10	0
Seven free tenants by ancient feoffment render ..	1	3	8½

	£	s.	d.
Twenty-four tenants holding for term of life render	9	9	10½
Eighty-seven customary tenants and one customary tenant "semivirgatarius," and one customary tenant "quartrovar" render as well in rent as in works and services ..	48	17	6½ and ½ farthing
Toll of the market with the toll of the sea ports of Aberthawe, Barry and Ogmore	10	0	0
Pleas and perquisites of court with entries of lands, "leiruyt"† and heriots	41	0	0
	£141	13	0½ and ½ farthing

I.P.M. 1375. EDWARD LE DESPENSER.

Divers buildings worth nothing beyond reprise			
One dovecote, worth yearly beyond reprise ..	0	2	4
One garden with a certain parcel "dayvatary terre"	0	11	0
*283a. demesne land worth beyond reprise ..	7	11	6
*In a certain park 5 acres of land..	0	5	0
*60 acres of land in divers places, price per acre 3d. (Sic. but evidently either the value per acre or the total is wrong)	2	0	0
*152a. 1r. of land. Price of the acre 2d... ..	1	5	8½
*21a. of meadow	1	1	0
*14½a. of meadow. Price of the acre 2s. ..	1	9	0
*18a. pasture	0	9	0
147 acres of land of bond tenants in the hands of the lord for want of tenants. Price of the acre 1½d.	0	18	4½
Pasture of the wood of Koydlowe..	0	3	6
Rent of free and bond tenants	1	18	0½

† Fines for unchastity.

* Less than in previous accounts.

	£	s.	d.
Works of the customary tenants, worth yearly	42	0	0
The toll there with the ports of Aberthaw, Barry, and Ogmore	10	0	0
Two decayed mills, worth yearly	10	0	0
Pleas and perquisites, worth yearly	9	0	0
	£88	14	5½

The above statement was probably made out with less care than others. No tenants for term of life are mentioned, though they probably existed. Probably the "Pleas and perquisites" are underestimated. No mention is made of the cottagers.

I.P.M. 1440. ISABELLA, COUNTESS OF WARWICK.

Taken at Gloucester. Gives no details.

MINISTER'S ACCOUNT 1492.

Of £27 11s. 2d. of ancient rent before the rebellion of Wales nothing, because £24 11s. 9½d. was assigned in exchange to the Abbot and convent of Neath, and £2 19s. 4½d. was allowed in old accounts as for want of rent.			
Rent of assise of free tenants	0	6	11
Rent of Thomas *Nicol for a cottage	0	0	3
New rent of Nichol Hopkyn for roadside waste..	0	0	1
Increased rent of William Chaunte	0	3	4
New rent of divers cottages let to various tenants for their works who used to work between the feasts of the Annunciation and St. Michael within the time of this account as was presented by Howel Carne, late Appruator	0	15	0
New rent of Robert *Dere	0	0	4

* Nichol and Dere are still well-known names in Llantwit.

	£	s.	d.
New rent of 1 acre of bond land at Lichemore ..	0	0	6
New rent of John Chaunte for a piece of waste	0	0	0½
New rent of Nicholas Hopkyn for a piece of waste land in Barnesway	0	0	1
New rent of John Pyers	0	0	0½
New rent of a piece of waste	0	0	0¼
New rent of Thomas Lydon	0	0	1
New rent of Robert Dere	0	0	0¼
New rent of John Myndman	0	0	5
New rent of Robert Brasyer	0	0	1
New rent of a certain pit	0	0	0½
New rent of John Stevens	0	0	1
New rent of the same	0	0	1
New rent of the same for a parcel near the Milepool	0	0	6
New rent of Walter Miller	0	0	3
New rent of a piece of waste late of Roger Wilkoc	0	0	0½
New rent of John Coly, land in Boverton ..	0	0	8
New rent of piece of waste land of John Hopkins	0	0	2
New rent of the Courthouse lately built so demised to Hopkyn ap Llewelin for the term of 60 years. Yet it used to be 2s.	0	1	6
New rent of ½ acre of waste at Fishwere, late of Mathew Prikproude	0	0	3
Increased rent of John Dere and Johanna his wife for demesne land called Orchardlond for lives .. .. .. a. 40 } Beyond old rent	0	1	0
And of meadow .. 5 }	0	16	8
Increased rent William Pyers for divers parcels	0	1	0
Increased rent of Thomas Laurens and Wenllean his wife. Land called Pendonfelde .. 40	0	0	4

	£	s.	d.
Increased rent of one parcel called Waterisdowne abt. 2 acres called lez pittes, demised to John Stephyns, Agnes his wife, and John and Johanna, their children, for term of their lives	0	0	4
New rent of Treharon Snell for a shop, demised for 70 years	0	0	4
New increased rent of Thomas Laurens for 40 acres in Pendonfeld beyond the 4d. above charged	0	3	8
Increased rent of Nicholas Portrewe for waste, 20ft. x 3ft.	0	0	1
Increased rent of a parcel of land in Southfield let to divers tenants	0	16	0
New increased rent of a piece of land in Brasseil-strete in the place called Hokerhill, 24ft x 20ft.	0	0	1
Increased rent of two curtilages..	0	0	4
Sale of works of customary tenants "and no more because many tenants departed from the country, and their tenements were burnt through the rebellion of Wales, yet they used to render yearly †£43 10s. 5½d." ..	17	19	11
And of the works of one Smith for his lands there yearly	0	9	0
And of the works of Simon Boughier for 24 acres and 1 rood of bond land so demised to him in Court	0	9	1
Of rent and works of John Goodhyne for 2 acres of bond land so demised in Court	0	0	9
Of works of John Thomas for 15 acres of land so demised in Court yearly	0	5	7½
Of works of William Hokelone for 2 acres and ½ of bond land formerly of John Moreton so demised to him by roll of Court	0	9	0

† This about agrees with the older accounts.

	£	s.	d.
Received of works of Robert Huyot for 2½ acres of bond land at Wilton this year	0	0	11¼
Of works of John Hoskyns for 1 messuage 16a. 3r. of bond land so demised by roll of Court	0	6	3
As to 4s. 3d. of works of free tenants he does not answer here because they are charged in ploughing works and sold	1½ farthing		
Of works of Alice Worney for 24 acres of bond land	0	9	0
Of 11 works of mowing and carriage of hay due from 47½ customary tenants of full tenure* (plene tenur) between them (in coi) so sold, price of the work 6½d.	0	5	11½
And no more because 40 customary (holdings) of the full tenure are in the hands of the Lord. Yet it used to be 10s. 10½d.			
And of the works of 147½ customary tenants for mowing and stacking (adunai) 18 acres of meadow in †Tassemede " ultra carucae unius bovis 3s. 4d. quam Custum soleb cape de consuet et non plus caus "	0	11	0
Of 25 ploughing works, price of the work 5d. ..	0	10	5
Of 25 ploughing works, price of the work 6d. ..	0	12	6
Of works of divers tenants for 96½ acres of land let to them as appears by roll of court of divers years preceding	1	14	0
Of the farm of a certain grange nothing because demised to Henry Stradlyng with land and pasture below. Nor for 5s. for the farm of the plough for the same reason.			
Nor for 12d. for the farm of the Kitchen there because it lies in ruin for want of repair.			
Nor for 20d. of the farm of the cowhouse (domus vaccaric) called le Shephous because let to the said farmer with his farm. Yet it used to render from of old 3s. 4d.			

* Of full tenure probably means holding 24 acres.

† Sic. but should be Taffemede.

£ s. d.

Nor for 6d. for the farm of the Dovecote of the Manor (house) for the reason aforesaid.

Nor for 8s. for the herbage of one close next the Manor House, called le Parke late in the hands of William Miller for the reason aforesaid.

Nor for £8 16s. 8d. of the farm of 474 acres of demesne land lying on the west and south sides of the highway from Llanmaes to Llantwit as the water course runs in the town of Llantwit to the sea on the west side late let to divers persons at divers prices.

100 acres demised below the acres at 8d. for sowing.

115 acres likewise for sowing at 6d.

7 acres, the acre 4d.

103 acres for pasture at 3d. per acre.

116 acres likewise for pasture at 2d. per acre.

And no more because 7 acres are in the close of the Manor (house) called le Parke late let to William Miller.

2 acres are inclosed or Keeping strays, and 4 acres lie outside lez lakes and are occupied by the Reeve, who claims to have them without paying anything by virtue of his office. And so the said 474 acres are charged at nothing here because granted to the aforesaid Henry Stradlyng with his farm.

Nor does he answer for £1 13s. 4d. of the farm of five acres and a half of meadow at Cailowe‡ late sold to John Pier at 3s. 4d. the acre, and five acres in the meadow called Wilamore sold to John Dere in the same year the acre

‡ Coytlou in the old accounts, now Colhugh.

	£	s.	d.
for 3s. besides half an acre at Cailowe aforesaid allowed for expenses of the appruator as used to be allowed in former accounts, and another half acre at Cailowe aforesaid lying in the pasture called Denny late in the tenure of John Piers nothing is charged here because it is demised to the aforesaid farmer with his farm below.			
Nor does he answer for the farm of the site of the Manor house there late demised to John Portreve nothing is charged for the reason aforesaid.			
Nor does answer for the second crop of 7 acres of meadow at Cailowe whereof the first crop used to be sold to John Piers nothing here for the reason aforesaid.			
Nor does he answer for 2s. from 2 parcels of land called Denny late demised to John Piers for the reason aforesaid.			
Nor does he answer for 1s. 6d. from one parcel of pasture called Wethirhull late demised to the said John nothing for the reason aforesaid.			
But he answers for the farm of the houses there, with the demesne land meadow grazing and pasture with the grove called Cailowe grove in the title next belowe specified so demised to divers tenants there this year	14	1	0
For 3s. 4d. of the farm of a close of land at Sygaston, containing 2½ acres in the tenure of Ievan Vachan nothing is charged here by itself because it is demised to the said Ievan with 11 acres of bond land at Sigaston in Wilton as below.			

	£	s.	d.
But he answers for the farm of 442a. 2½r. of bond land within the lordship of Llantwit on the north side of Lichemore being in the hands of divers tenants there whereof — acres farmed (*i.e.* let to farm) to Robert Raglan for pasture at 3d. an acre	0	0	4½
Forty acres farmed to Wenllean Russell to hold to her and hers according to the custom of the manor by record of the Exchequer for a term certain for pasture at 4d. an acre .. §	0	13	4
6 acres are demised to Robert Russell to hold to him and his according to the custom of the manor on the north side of Garlkesdowne at 3½d. an acre .. .. §	0	1	9
60 acres farmed to Lewis Raglan for pasture at 3d. the acre .. .. §	0	15	0
40 acres farmed to Hoskyn Llewelyn for pasture at 3d. the acre .. .. §	0	10	0
32 acres farmed to divers tenants for pasture at 3d. the acre	0	8	0
102a. 1½r. in the hands of tenants at a certain rent 4½d. the acre .. .. §	1	18	7½
16a. farmed for pasture to divers tenants 2d. the acre	0	2	8
And no more because — acres 1½r. are rented above under the title of sale of works, in the charge of the bedell in the sum of £23 15s. 2½d. and half farthing.			
And for 19s. 5d. of the farm of 56 acres of bond land in the hands of the lord within the said lordship of Llantwit on the south side demised to divers tenants there this year, whereof one acre is farmed for 4½d.			

§ This sum is not mentioned.

	£	s.	d.
11 acres are farmed to Mathew Prikproute for pasture the acre for 3d. (2s. 7d.)			
1 acre is farmed for 2d. for pasture.			
And 43 in the hands of tenants at 4½ the acre ..	0	19	5
And for £2 14s. 2d. for the farm of 152 acres of bond land at Sigaston and Wilton demised to divers tenants. Whereof 4 acres for sowing at 4½d. the acre, 30 acres to Richard Hewman to hold to him and his according to the custom of the manor at 4½ acre.			
12 acres farmed to Ievan Vachan with a certain close at Sigaston for life by roll of Court, 4½d. per acre and nothing for the close because* a house is built upon it.			
10a. farmed to Iorwerth Sigaston for the term of his life at 4½ the acre.			
4a. late of Jevan ap Thomas farmed to Howel Carne at 4½d. the acre.			
6½a. late of said Jevan in hands of the Lord because the said Jevan is dead and he now to render 4½ the acre nothing here because it is let for pasture below.			
8½ acres demised to Thomas Hayor for life at 4½d. the acre.			
4a. farmed to Howel Carne to him and his according to the custom of the manor 4½d. the acre.			
For the farm of 186 acres of bond land in Lichmore he does not answer here because it is charged above under the name of land within the Lordship of Llantwit on the north side by certificate at the appruator	1	7	2¼

* No doubt by the tenant.

	£	s.	d.
†Toll of the Pix in Llantwit and Boverton, together with the toll of the Pix in east and west Thawe .. .. Used to be £7 11s. 8d.	4	0	0
‡Herbage of the old garden at Llantwit sold to William Pyers this year. Used to be 2s. 6d.	0	1	0
Sale of underwood and thorns in Cailowegrove. None occurred.			
The price of 14 ox yokes of divers customary tenants for each yoke 6d.	0	7	0
§For 16d. " de firm pont de introit porte nup de nova fact videlt p tempus hui compi non r def firmar."			
Arising from the Custom of salt	0	1	0
¶Farm of 11a. 3r. of extent land at Franketon demised to William Hoskyns, Johanna his wife, and John their son for their lives by roll of Court	0	11	9
For the farm of one tenement of free land of Laurence Hope for 3a. of free land formerly of the said Laurence so let to John Edwards	0	3	0
‖For the farm of 4a. of land formerly of Thomas Teke and John Nicoll at Frankton so demised to Llewelyn Chepman for life ..	0	4	0
For the farm of 3a. of extent land at le Carne late demised to William Hoskyns, so demised to William Portreve this year	0	3	0
For the farm of 4a. of extent land at le Carne so let to Jevan ap Willy for life	0	4	0

† Farm of the Toll.

‡ Issues of Manor.

§ This is a curious entry difficult to understand. Llantwit was never walled.

¶ Farm of Lands and Tenements in the lands of the lord and extent lands.

‖ Now Frampton.

	£	s.	d.
For the farm of 27a. of extent land of which 4a. at le Carne and 23a. at le Whitmore parcel of the land called Kemeslond so let to Robert Raglane and his heirs for ever ..	0	0	6
By letters patent of the late Duke of Warwick for services done by the said Robert.			
They used to be farmed the 4 acres at le Carne for 4s., and the 23a. at Whitmore for 11s. 6d.			
For the farm of 3 acres of extent land late demised to William Oldewode for the term of his life nothing is charged here because the said 3 acres are part of the 23 acres lying in Whitemore so farmed to Robert Raglane.			
Nor for the farm of 1a. of extent land late in the tenure of John Tailor for the same reason.			
For the farm of 1a. of extent land late in the tenure of John Hoskyns, Tailor, now let to John Lynde this year..	0	1	0
For the farm of 2a. of extent land there late in the tenure of David Iremonger so let this year	0	2	0
For the farm of 6a. of extent land late in tenure of John Smyth so let this year	0	6	0
For 8a. of extent land at Franketon formerly of Roger Portar so let this year	0	6	8
For 3a. of extent land formerly of John Fleming in Langamesmore so let this year	0	2	0
For the farm of 1a. in Langamesmore and 1a. of extent land at Wasst formerly of William Webbe for his life by roll of Court	0	3	0
For the farm of 2a. of meadow in Franketon so let to Malyn Pyers and Johanna Hoskyns his daughter for their lives by roll of Court	0	3	0

	£	s.	d.
For the farm of 1a. of land and meadow in Haygarne so let this year	0	2	6
For the farm of 118½a. of extent land lying in 3 fields called Franketon Carne and Kenriles-lond demised to various tenants at different prices beyond xxiii acres "de rem p dict aer supius dim Robto Raglane"	1	3	9½
For the farm of 27 acres of extent land lying at Whitmore and le Carne "de novo inuene" beyond that which is charged above ..	0	15	6½
For the windmill* nothing because no one would take it on account of want of repair.			
For the water mill newly built so let to Thomas Raglan this year	4	0	0
For the farm of divers parcels of land and pasture called †Daynes let to tenants there and no more because divers parcels of the same lie in the lord's hands for want of tenants	0	6	0
Perquisites of Court beyond £3 13s. 9½d. paid for the repair of the Court House .. .. (In all it would be £6 11s. 0½d.)	2	17	3

LECKWITH.

Leckwith is a parish and manor south-west of Cardiff. The portion which lies east of the River Ely, being all flat and low land, was included within the borough by the Cardiff Improvement Act, 1875.

The church is dedicated to Saint James, and is a rectory in the gift of the lord of the manor.

* Farm of the mills.
† Farm of Daynes.

The manor has almost continuously been in the hands of the Lords of Cardiff. The only exception known was during the period for which it was held as one fourth of a knight's fee by the family of Sandford.

The following early references are found in the documents printed by Mr. Clark in the *Cartae.*

About 1179 Griffin, son of Ivor (bach), granted to Margam Abbey 100 acres of his land of Lecwithe and certain fisheries " de Helei ". The deed provides that if the grantor is not able to warrant the title the monks are to have lands in " Seinhenit " (Senghenydd).

The family of Ivor Bach were well known Lords of Senghenydd, but this, so far as known, is the only evidence of their claiming lands in Leckwith. Much is known of the property of Margam, but there is no trace of their having, in fact, held any land in Leckwith (*Cartae* I, p. 169).

Bishop Nicholas, 1153–83, confirmed to Tewkesbury Abbey the chapel " de Leocwtha," but if this, as is probable, refers to Leckwith, the Abbey must have parted with it at an early date (*Cartae* I, p. 133).

The Mill of " Liquid " is mentioned in the account of Maurice de Berkelay, Custos of Glamorgan, 1184–85. (*Cartae* I, p. 170.)

1207, Walter de Sully gave 20 marks to King John, who then held " Lequid," the mill being out of repair. (*Cartae* II, p. 306.) In the account of Maurice de Berkelay above referred to the farm of Leckwith for a half year was 17s. 6d.

1242–62, Richard de Clare granted to Nicholas de Sanford his whole manor of Lecquid to him and his heirs except Jews and men of religion (*i.e.*, of religious orders) at the service of ¼ of a knight's fee. (*Cartae* II, p. 521.) Nicholas de Sanford granted Leckwith to his brother Lawrence. (*Cartae* III, p. 882.)

In the extent of Glamorgan, 1262, Fulke de Sanford held Leckwith. (*Cartae* II, p. 609.) Lawrence de Sanford granted Leckwith to Philip Basset to hold to him and his heirs of Sanford and his heirs at the rent of 1d. and the services due to the chief lord. (*Cartae* III, p. 884.)

No mention is made of Leckwith in the Inquisition on the death of Gilbert de Clare, 1295. It was probably not then in the hands of the Lord.* It is, however, referred to in the Inquisition on the death of his widow Joan,† in 1307.

The short particulars are :—

46½ acres 1 rood of meadow, worth 12d. per acre.

241 acres of pasture, 4d. per acre.

A wood worth nothing except for housebote and haybote.

43½ acres 1 rood of pasture let to farm at 12s. 5d.

A messuage and two curtilages 12d.

Rent of assise of free tenants 18s. 9d.

14 cottagers holding 14 cottages rendering 2s. 4d., 2s. per cottage.

Farm of the fishery 8s. 8d.

22 customary tenants 258 acres 43s.

The customary tenants also owe certain works.

21 of the customary tenants each held one messuage and 12 acres of land and rendered 2s. each. The other tenants held 6 acres of land and rendered 1s. There would thus appear to have been at least 36 houses in the parish at that date.

In his report on Leckwith Common of 6th November, 1899, Mr. Stuart Archibald Moore mentions a Minister's account in the Public Record Office for 1490–91, which refers to Leckwith Grange with 147 acres 3 roods of pasture, mentions lands and

* It has never been granted out since.

† I.P.M. of Joan de Clare.

meadows called Rogers Hooks, and includes Russam as part of the demesnes and consisting of 21 acres (see below). The hay grown upon it was cut by the lord's tenants and taken to Cardiff Castle. The accountant takes credit for making a ditch between Russam and Rogers Hook. Part of this ditch exists.

The same account appears to be the one printed in the first volume of the *Cardiff Records*, p. 188 (but there dated 1492). Reference is made to " The fishery of Middelwere and from Middlewere aforesaid as far as the Bishops land ".

A ditch is referred to between Rusham and Rogershook, between Rusham and the Grange, and between Russham and the Bishops land. 11 acres 1 rood of meadow in Russham were destroyed by water so that no one would farm them. The total extent of Russham was therefore 32 acres.

It appears that the Abbot of Margam's Grange was then in the hands of the Duke (of Bedford) to farm.

The account also speaks of 8s. paid yearly out of the Duke's Grange to the Lordship of Cogan. This is a curious statement, for according to an original rent-roll of Sir George Herbert, Lord of Cogan in 1545, the 8s. appears to have been paid, not out of the Duke's, or Leckwith, Grange, but out of the Abbot of Margam's Grange.

A lease of the Abbot's Grange also shows that a payment was made to the Lord of Cogan. It would seem that the statement here as to its being paid in respect of the Duke's Grange may be a mistake, which would be possible at a time when both Granges were in the same hands.

The pasture called " Balcrofte " (Bullcroft) is mentioned. Other names are*"Wynneway", "Lyquythmore", "Bedcrofte", " Oldcrofte ", " Torcotefeld ", " Danyellhokes ", " Crosham ", " Harpacre ".

* " Wenway " appears in a map of 1773 to have been a kind of occupation road on the moors.

Crosham was in the Satmarsh. There is a piece of ground on the east bank of the Ely, north of Leckwith Bridge, called "Y Grosson" in the Map of 1773. Perhaps this is a corruption of Crosham.

BARRY.

It is very difficult to say anything definite as to the history of Barry, for the reason, amongst others, that it appears, from at least the 13th century, not to have been a manor held direct of the Chief Lords, and therefore not named in the inquisitions taken on their deaths, which documents afford so much information as to the descent of other manors.

For certain reasons to be stated below, it appears probable that it was in fact (at least for a long period) a sub-manor held under the Lords of Penmark, but the manor so held did not include the island, which certainly was part of the manor of Sully.

Giraldus Cambrensis states that the island of Barry took its name from Saint Barseus, or Barrwg, whose chapel, covered with ivy, existed in his day. This probably was the small chapel the remains of which were found a few years ago.

To Saint Barrwg, it may be observed, the parish church of Bedwas, Monmouthshire, is dedicated, and this seems to be the only instance of such a dedication.

Another view as to the origin of the name discards St. Barrwg, and makes it signify simply "the bare island."

Whether or not Giraldus is to be considered an authority as to the origin of the name of the island and parish of Barry, his authority can hardly be disputed on the point that the family of de Barry or Barri derived their name from the place, seeing that he was himself the son of a William de Barri.

Giraldus is believed to have been born about 1150, and writing towards the close of that century, he says that a noble family, who were lords of the island with the neighbouring lands, took their name from it.

It seems that in the absence of very strong evidence to the contrary, this statement must be accepted,* and we have to believe that the de Barry's, at or soon after FitzHamon's conquest, became lords of possessions which then were or afterwards came under the overlordship, as to the island, of the de Sullys, and as to the mainland of the Lords of Penmark. As to the island this was certainly the case. It was in the manor and parish of Sully. At what exact time and in what way the de Sullys obtained the manor of Sully does not appear to have been ascertained.

There is, of course, the well known account, which has obtained belief for a long time, that FitzHamon apportioned the greater part of the Vale of Glamorgan among twelve knights, his followers, among whom Sir Reginald de Sully obtained the lordship of Sully. This account, however, has been shown to be in many respects inaccurate, and though the Sullys were very early in the district, there does not seem to be any actual evidence of their presence in Fitz Hamon's time. Then or shortly after, according to the statement of Giraldus, the de Barrys must have possessed Barry.

The family also held lands in Gower which may possibly have been their principal possessions.

Thus Peter, Bishop of St. Davids, 1176–1198, confirmed to Neath Abbey certain lands which William de Barry had granted in Gower, and there are many other evidences of their connection with that district.

* From a statement in a twelfth century charter (*Cartae*, Vol. II, p. 389) in which Milisant, daughter of William Mitdehorguill, refers to "terra mea de Barri" it would appear that she was then in possession of Barry. She also held the fee of St. Nicholas and it is perhaps of interest to note that the early churches at St. Nicholas and Barry were both dedicated to St. Nicholas. D.R.P.

It will, of course, be remembered that Gower formed no part of Glamorgan until the time of Henry VIII. It had its own chief lords, sheriffs, etc., so that property there would not be held of the Lord of Glamorgan, but of the Lord of Gower.

The earliest general account of the Glamorgan lordships is contained in an inquisition taken on the death of Richard de Clare, Earl of Gloucester and Hereford, and Lord of Glamorgan, in 1262.

The jury who made the inquiry were the chief landowners, or as we should now say, lords of manors in the County, and many of them, as the document itself shows, held directly of the Chief Lord.

There were others, however, as to whom this was not the case, and amongst these was William de Barry.

It shows that at that time Walter de Sully held four knights' fees in Sully and Wenvoe, Gilbert Umfraville four fees in Penmark, and Robert de Sumeri $2\frac{1}{2}$ fees in Dinas Powis. The latter is mentioned here because Cadoxton juxta Barry was a sub-manor of Dinas Powis.

Though there can be no doubt that the William de Barry of that date held land in the district it is clear that he must have held it under some other lord, possibly (as regards the manor on the mainland) under Umfraville of Penmark, though how this came about the writer has not ascertained. The island, if he held it at all, must have been held of de Sully.

There is other evidence that the de Barrys occupied a position of importance in the district, though not as direct tenants of the Chief Lord.

The Comitatus, or County Court, was an assembly of the magnates of the County held under the presidency of the Sheriff. A William de Barri was present there in 1247 and 1249. He witnessed a grant of land in Cogan in 1250, and about the

same period several other deeds relating to land in the neighbourhood. A Walter de Barry also appears. He witnessed a grant of land in Bonvilston to Margam Abbey, 20th July, 1281, and another, undated, of perhaps the same period or somewhat earlier. A Lucas de Barry took part in the Comitatus, 3rd August, 1299. About 1320 a person is described in a deed as John, son and heir of William de Barry, burgess of Cardiff. A Thomas de Barry witnessed a Charter in 1338.

The reasons for supposing that the manor of Barry was held under Penmark are as follows :—

Penmark in 1262, and apparently much earlier, was held by the Umfravilles. There is evidence of their presence as early as 1129. It afterwards passed to the St. Johns in the fourteenth century.

It was regarded as consisting, or held by the service of four knights' fees. For each knight's fee, 6s. 8d. was paid as castle ward silver to the Chief Lord. For a long time £1 6s. 8d. was paid for Penmark, but afterwards £1 for Penmark and 6s. 8d. for Barry. It is pretty clear that Barry had been included in Penmark, and anyone who held it must have held it immediately under the Lord of Penmark, who, in turn held of the Chief Lord.

As to Barry Island it is clear that it formed part of the manor of Sully. Before 1330 that manor had passed (apparently by marriage of an heiress) to the Lords of Avan or Avene (Aberavon), and from John de Avene it was acquired by Hugh le Despenser, then Chief Lord, by exchange prior to 1348. Together with the Lordship of Glamorgan it got into the hands of Henry VIII.

By Henry VIII the island was leased to Sir William Herbert, afterwards Earl of Pembroke, to whom it was granted in fee by King Edward VI. The remainder of the manor of Sully was, in 1558, sold by the Crown to Sir Thomas Stradling.

The island was thus separated from the rest of the manor of Sully and has been held separately ever since.

As to Barry Castle, Mr. Clark considers it to have been built (at least as regards the gateway) in the time of Henry III or Edward I, and there is no reason to doubt that it was built by one of the de Barry family.

WORLETON AND ST. NICHOLAS.

It is probably impossible now to ascertain what were the exact bounds of the manor of Worleton or Duffryn, because it was long in the same hands as a share of the adjoining manor of St. Nicholas, *i.e.*, in those of the Button family.

For many centuries Worleton was a manor of the Bishops of Llandaff, and, according to the *Liber Landavensis*, p. 157, formed part of a gift of King Judhail (Ithel) to Bishop Oudoceus. This would take the gift back to the seventh century, but it is very doubtful how far the statements in the *Liber Landavensis* as to the particular princes by whom gifts were made and the Bishops to whom they were made can be relied upon. This, however, is certain, that Worleton or Duffryn was claimed as an old possession of the See as early as the first half of the twelfth century.

The Charter does not mention any such name as either Worleton or Duffryn, but the description of boundaries which it contains makes it clear that it included lands between the Nant Golych and what is now called on the Ordnance Map the "Goldsland Brook." These would be the western and southern boundaries. How far it extended eastward and northward I have not been able to make out from the description. It seems as if it might be meant to include all or most of St. Lythans parish (and perhaps part of Wenvoe), the church of which seems to be indicated by the "ecclesia Elidon" of the charter.

The property long remained part of the possessions of the See of Llandaff, but ultimately passed into the possession of the Button family, no doubt by purchase from some bishop. How and where this took place I have not ascertained. Dr. Green, in his work on the churches of the Diocese of Llandaff, expresses the opinion that the manor had been alienated before 1535, because, while he finds it mentioned, and stated to be worth £5 1s. 4d., in the *Taxatio Ecclesiastica* of 1291, it is not mentioned in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of 1535. Mr. G. T.Clark's *Cartae* (IV, p. 1,179) says that it was conveyed away "about the time of Elizabeth" probably by Bishop Kitchin. Rice Lewis, on the other hand, who wrote an account of the manors of Glamorgan which has not been printed, 1596–1600, says that the Button of that day held of the Bishops. This, I think, is unlikely, and the statements of Rice Lewis, even as regards facts of his own time, are not always correct. It is possible that, as certainly happened in at least one case, the manor was first leased to the Buttons by some bishop, and subsequently purchased. If the pedigree of the Button family, in Mr. Clark's *Glamorgan Genealogies*, is to be relied upon, the Buttons seem to have been at Worleton earlier than the time of Elizabeth. It is also possible that the Buttons may have had a share of the Manor of St. Nicholas at an earlier date than that at which they acquired Worleton, for their principal house, though close to the border, appears not to have been within Worleton, but in St. Nicholas. It may be interesting to quote what Rice Lewis says on the subject of the Buttons and their house :—

BUTTONS OF COLUMBAR.

> Roger Button esquior married Maud, daughter to William Kemes father to James that married Jane daughter to Robert Richard father to Miles that married Margaret daughter to Edward Lewis father to Edward that married—(perhaps Edward had not married at the time Lewis wrote.) Diffrin Goale,* wherein standeth his cheefe house called

* *i.e.*, Duffryn Golych.

aforesaid Columbar yt is holden of the Buishop of Landaphe for the tyme beinge and hath no church for it standeth in the parish of St. Nicholas, iii miles bwest Cardiff and iii miles by est Cowbridge ii markett townes.

St. Nicholas or a parte thereof joyneth to the North parte of the Differin and hath free tenants and coppy houlders, and standeth in the midwaye betweene Carduf and Cowbridge iiii miles bywest Cardiff and iiii miles by east of Cowbridge. The patronage† is geeven successively by the iii Lords of the Mannor of St. Nicholas namely the Earle of Pembroke Myles Button and Morgan Meiricke esquiores and the valuation is .

I do not know whether tradition of the name "columbar" survives, or whether the present house is on the old site, but Rice Lewis was almost certainly in error in treating the house (which he says was in the parish of St. Nicholas) as being within the same manor which belonged at one time to the Bishop.

So far as to Worleton or Duffryn. The St. Nicholas question is a very complicated one, as to which I have only imperfect information.‡ The earliest extent of the County, made in or about 1262, no doubt on the death of Richard de Clare, speaks of St. Nicholas as three knights' fees (*i.e.*, held by the service of three knights), by William Corbet, and remarks that the fees were held in fee of him, meaning that he did not hold them personally but that they were held by others under him by subinfeudation. The name William Corbet is continued in various later documents as holding St. Nicholas down to a period at which the holder of 1262 could not have survived. Of course it might refer to successors of the same name. It is more likely, however, that the name was retained without regard to this. There is no trace that I have ever found that any Corbet was ever an actual resident landowner in the

† *i.e.*, of St. Nicholas.

‡ See note under Dinas Powys p. 119.

County, and in this respect the family differs from the others named in the *Extent* of 1262.*

It does not appear in that *Extent*, or for long after, who were the actual immediate holders of the St. Nicholas lands, nor do I know how or when the manor became divided into shares. It is certain that it, or some share of it, came into the hands of the Malefant family, whose issue failed in the reign of Henry VII, by which means their lands went to Jasper, Duke of Bedford, then Lord of Glamorgan. Afterwards, having come into the possession of the king, together with the rest of the Glamorgan Lordship, the Manor of St. Nicholas, or that share of it which had come to the Chief Lord from the Malefants, was granted (I think by Henry VIII) to Sir William Herbert, afterwards created Earl of Pembroke by King Edward VI. It may be here mentioned that the manor of St. Nicholas was not confined to that parish. It comprised Peterston Mill and lands in St. Georges and Llancarvan.

In the time of William, Earl of Pembroke, a Survey of 1571 and other documents show that the Button and Meyrick families also held some share of the manor, and Rice Lewis (1569–1600), as above shown, says that in his time the manor had three lords, the Earl of Pembroke, Miles Button, and Morgan Meyrick.

* Mr. Corbett latterly held the view that it was probable William Corbet obtained St. Nicholas by marriage either with Milisant Mitdehorguil or a daughter of hers (see note p. 119). *The Family of Corbett*, Vol. 2, p. 167 mentions that Roger Corbet, of Chaddesley, was succeeded by his two nephews, William and Robert. William had 1½ fees in Worcestershire in 1235. His wife's name is not known. He was living 1251-4 and perhaps at the time of the *Extent* of 1262. He had a daughter Hawisa, who married Laurence de Saundeford, the terms of the settlement stating that William gave him in free marriage with Hawisa his daughter all his lands in Glamorgan in the vill of St. Nicholas and outside it, *except three knight's fees.* Nicholas de Sanford was granted Leckwith by Richard de Clare 1243-62, and he transferred it to his brother Laurence. Nicholas died in 1252 according to Matthew Paris. In 1262 a Fulco de Sanford held Leckwith but by 1295 it was in the de Clare hands.

Probably the Laurence de Saundeford who for a time had Leckwith was the one who married the daughter of William Corbet, but there is no evidence other than above of his connection with St. Nicholas. Mr. Corbett thought that the three knights' fees being excepted might well account for his not appearing in the *Extent* of 1262.

The confirmation deed (*Cartae*, Vol. I, p. 177) referred to above (p. 119) makes it clear that Adam de Sumeri must have been the *first* husband of Milisant, daughter of William Mitdehorguil, if, indeed, she married again.

D. R. P.

Rees Meyrick, who wrote about 1580, and was father of Morgan Meyrick, gives the same account. He says that the lords were the Earl of Pembroke, Miles Button, and himself.

It is this circumstance which causes a good deal of confusion in dealing with manorial matters at this period, that when a manor was divided and held in shares, each owner would often be described as holding " the Manor of——." as if he had the whole, when, in fact, he had a share only. There is some reason to think that the Buttons acquired their interest at an earlier date than the Meyricks, as they paid *"wardsilver" for one knight's fee so late as the time of Charles II, whereas nothing was paid for the other two shares. This seems to indicate that the Buttons may have acquired their share before anything passed to the Chief Lord, while the other two shares perhaps passed to him (so that wardsilver ceased to be paid) and the Meyricks acquired their share later from the Chief Lord.

The Earls of Pembroke continued to hold their Manor of St. Nicholas, apparently until the time of that Phillip, Earl of Pembroke, who died in 1683.

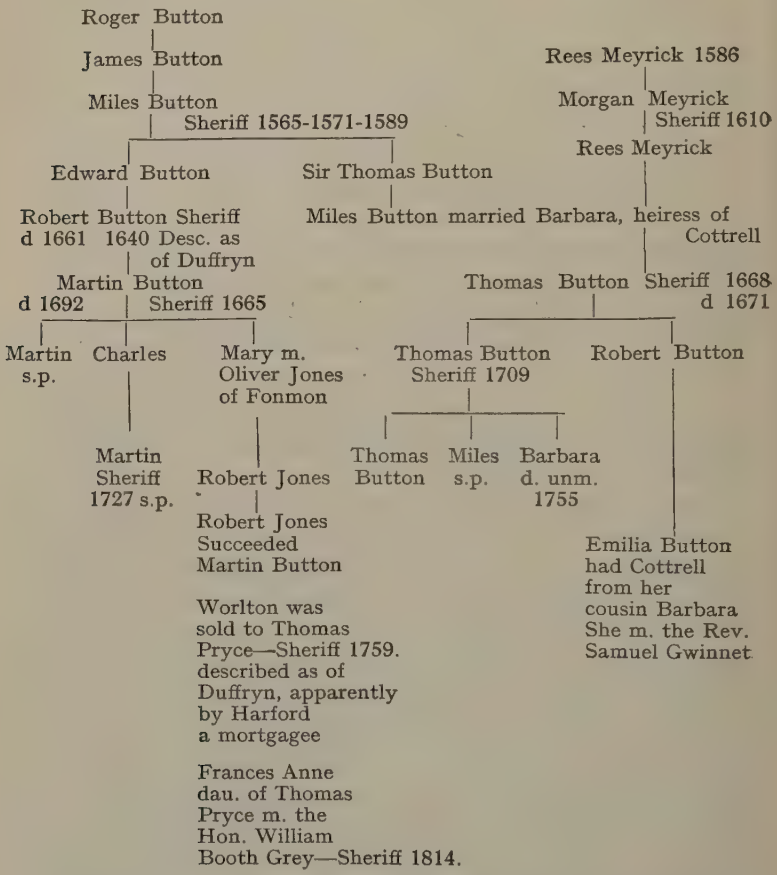
The Buttons of Worleton continued to be Lords of their share, while that of the Meyricks had passed to the Buttons of Cottrell, a branch of the Worleton family, one of whom had married a Meyrick heiress.

Philip, Earl of Pembroke, sold some lands to Button of Worleton and some to Button of Cottrell, by which means his manorial rights came to an end, but whether he conveyed his " manor " to either does not appear.

While the three shares existed it would seem the Meyrick portion included Cottrell, also Trehill and other lands. The Button share would naturally be supposed to be near Worleton, but it is certain that the Earl of Pembroke had some lands near there (Dog Hill for instance), and Button is said to have held of the Earl 30 acres " lying in Worlton ". Also it appears that in the latter part of the sixteenth century some lands were in dispute between the Earl and Button.

* Wardsilver, a very ancient payment to the lords of Cardiff by Lords of Manors held under them at the rate of 6s. 8d. for each knight's fee.

The following table shows the connection between the Button and Meyrick families and the descent of the Cottrell and Duffryn properties.



It will be seen from what is said above that it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to say exactly of what the Worlton or Duffryn manor consisted, though, substantially, it was probably that portion of the old Button property which was in the parish

of St. Lythans. The Button share of St. Nicholas, as distinguished from the other shares, is also practically impossible to define in the absence of old Surveys, especially as the Buttons of Duffryn appear to have acquired part of the Earl of Pembroke's share, the Buttons of Cottrell purchasing the rest.

TALYVAN.

Very little is known as to the history of Talyvan in the earlier days before it was taken by the Chief Lord. Some authorities state, and it may be said to be the generally received view, that, following upon the conquest, the St. Quintin family held Llanbleddian, and the Seward or Siward family Talyvan. This has been stated so generally and by so many writers that hesitation is felt in putting forward a different opinion, but the writer feels some doubt whether these lords were contemporary, and ventures to think it more probable that the St. Quintins came first, both at Llanbleddian and Talyvan, and that the Siwards succeeded them, probably by marriage of an heiress. A charter of 1129 refers to a mill at Pendoylan, which would be in Talyvan, as held under Richard de St. Quintin (not Siward). Certain it is that in the first half of the thirteenth century Richard Siward was Lord of Llanbleddian, Talyvan, and Ruthyn. He also held lands in Devonshire, and was a person of considerable note. He is described in *Land of Morgan* as, " one of the Earl of Gloucester's most turbulent barons."

The Earl of Gloucester (and Lord of Glamorgan) was Richard de Clare, who became Earl on the death of his father, Gilbert, in 1230, but, being a minor, was not let into possession of his estates until 1243. In or about 1246 or a little later, Siward appears to have allied himself with Howel ap Meredith, the Welsh Lord of Miscin, in opposition to de Clare, and was summoned to appear before the " comitatus " or county court

of Glamorgan, and was ultimately outlawed by the court and his lands forfeited. He appealed to the King, but the Earl denied the jurisdiction of the King's court, on the ground that the matter had taken place within his marcher lordship, and had been determined in accordance with the custom there. The proceedings were going on in 1247, and are set out at length, but without the ultimate result, in *Cartae*, vol. II, p. 547. Siward died in 1248, perhaps before any decision was given, but apparently the judgment of the Glamorgan court took effect, for Talyvan, Ruthyn, and Llanbleddian from that time remained in the hands of the Chief Lords.

It may be mentioned that about the same time the Earl also expelled Howel ap Meredith, and took possession of Miscin.

Richard de Clare died in 1262, and about that time an extent or inquisition as to the holdings in Glamorgan was made. It is not dated, but the names mentioned in it show that it was of about that date.

In it, as we have it, there are no particulars of Talyvan, probably because then in the Chief Lord's own hands. The first information as to what it consisted of is contained in an inquisition taken 3rd February, 1296, following upon the death of Gilbert de Clare, son of Richard, who had died in December, 1295.

It is here called the "Barony" of Talyvan. The names of the jurors appear to be all Welsh. They consisted of free and customary tenants. There were the following items as found by the jury:—

	£	s.	d.
75 free tenants holding 704 acres and rendering ..	5	4	6
and one sparrow hawk (or 2s. instead) ..	0	2	0
38 customary tenants 370½ acres and rendering..	2	13	1
each of these was bound to do certain works of ploughing, reaping, harrowing, carrying corn and to carry one load of underwood (for firewood) yearly the works worth	0	4	7

	£	s.	d.
It is however said " if they have wherewith to do " the said works they shall do them, and if " they have not, they shall do nothing " And be it known that 53 homesteads of " customary tenants are wasted and des- " troyed by war, and they neither yield nor " do anything It is also stated that all the cottages are wasted and destroyed All the bond tenants of the Barony owe yearly of aid and custom	3	6	8
And claim out of it £1 6s. 8d. It does not appear why this claim for deduction was made, unless on account of the wasting of so many holdings			
300 acres of arable and pasture 1d. per acre ..	1	5	0
28 acres of meadow, 3d. per acre	0	7	0
A moor of turf (peat)	0	6	8
Four forests, Caergriffith, New Forest, Old Forest and Little Haywood and Park at Talyvan ..	0	13	4
One nest of sparrow hawks	0	1	0
The pleas and perquisites of the Welshman court	2	0	0
Total ..	16	13	10

The waste and destruction by war arose from a great rising which took place in the last year of de Clare's life, and very probably while he was suffering from illness, and which caused great havoc throughout the county. King Edward I himself interfered to put it down.

The pleas and perquisites of court mentioned above included fines and forfeitures for certain offences, and heriots. At this period they appear to have been unusually small, but in some lordships in later times they increased very much, and in fact became probably a great instrument of oppression.

With reference to the rising referred to, it should be mentioned that the inquisition says that five free tenants were still against the peace of the King and the Countess, meaning the Countess Joan, daughter of the King, and widow of de Clare.

The next Inquisition was taken June, 1307, after there had been several years of peace, on the death of the Countess Joan, widow of de Clare (who in the meantime had married Ralph de Monthermer).

The particulars are shortly these :—	£	s.	d.
*A castle worth yearly	0	1	0
178½ acres of (arable) land at 2d. per acre ..	†1	19	9
28 acres pasture at 4d. per acre..	0	9	4
The Turbary	0	6	8
Certain woods	0	10	6
	£3	7	3
‡Rent of the tenants	10	15	7
60 Welsh customary tenants	7	0	0½
§Also render an aid called Commorth	3	6	8
The same tenants owe 60 Autumn works price of a work 1d.	0	5	0
And they owe at Christmas 5s. for the carriage of 60 loads of wood for firewood	0	5	0
(These entries indicate that the " works " were not performed, but commuted for a money payment.)			
The pleas and perquisites of Llanbleddian and Talyvan	3	0	0
	£27	19	6½

* It was usual to put castles as worth nothing or a nominal amount.

† So in original, but should be £1 9s. 9d.

‡ Now called chief rent.

§ Paid in several of the hill lordships, but except in Talyvan only in every alternate year.

In the original the total is entered £27 18s. 6¼d., because the 1s. for the Castle is omitted, and the 10s. too much, as noted above, is included. The right amount without the castle would be £27 8 6¼

In the next Inquisition, taken in 1314 on the death of Gilbert, son of Gilbert and Joan, Llanbleddian, Talyvan, and Llanharry are mixed together.

The next is that on the death of Hugh le Despenser, taken 1350, and in this there appear :—

	£	s.	d.
Castle and park	2	0	0
84 acres of (arable) land 8d. per acre ..	2	16	0
20 acres meadow 1s. per acre	1	0	0
Forests	0	10	0
99 free tenants render	13	5	5½
81 customary tenants holding in villeinage, rendering in rents works and services ..	5	4	11½
Pleas and perquisites	13	6	8
	£38	3	1

The next Inquisition was taken 1375, on the death of Edward le Despenser. During his time apparently a new officer, called Receiver of the Forest, had been appointed in some lordships, of which Talyvan was one. Exactly what portions he took charge of does not appear, but evidently more than the actual woods.

The items may be summarised thus :—

	£	s.	d.
Buildings of castle	Nil.		
64 acres of arable land	2	2	8
33½ acres of meadow	1	5	2
Village of Talyvan—arable land	9	5	0
Rent of free and bond tenants	3	12	11¼
Works	1	15	5
Pleas and perquisites	14	13	4
Talyvan Receptor (Receiver of the Forest)	4	15	0
	£37	9	6¼

It seems probable that, as in the case of so many manors, the "Black Death" of 1349-50 had adversely affected Talyvan.

After this, Inquisitions ceased to be taken in detail, and the later ones are not worth quoting.

It will be seen that the lists in the above Inquisitions vary to a curious extent. It looks as if matters as to cultivation, etc., fluctuated a good deal, and perhaps the quantities and figures given were often matters of rough estimate and not really very accurate.

The next document is of a different character. It is a Minister's account rendered by the Bedell of Talyvan for 1491-92 at the time the lordship belonged to Jasper, Duke of Bedford. There had been some small administrative changes, some money that used to be collected in Glynrhondda was now received by the Bedell of Talyvan, and the Bailiffs of Cowbridge received a few shillings formerly collected in Talyvan. The perquisites of Court had sunk to 13s. 8d., so that there had evidently been a great improvement from the tenants' point of view, while on the other hand some lands had fallen into the lord's hands and were let at improved rents. It would take too much space to go into the details, but it may be stated that the gross receipts appear to have amounted to about £45. One item of some interest is that this account gives particulars of the tenants' "works," not at this date actually done, but paid for by them in money.

	£	s.	d.
82 works of ploughing, the lord finding food, a work worth 1½d.	0	10	1½
84 works of harrowing, a work worth 1d.	0	7	0
84 works of carrying brushwood, a work worth 1d.	0	7	0
9 works of haymaking, a work worth ½d.	0	0	4½
75 works of carrying hay, a work worth 2d.	0	12	6
9 works of collecting (probably stacking) hay, a work worth ½d.	0	0	4½
87 works of harvesting corn, a work worth 1d.	0	7	6

There are here two errors. The first item should be 10s. 3d., and the last 7s. 3d.

The amounts for which the works were commuted must have been fixed long before the date of the account, for certainly at that time the works could not have been done for the sums named. It would seem that in Talyvan the practice of accepting small payments instead of actual works must have begun early.

By the death without issue of the Duke of Bedford, Talyvan, with the rest of the Glamorgan Lordship, came back into the hands of the King, but retained the status of a " member " lordship not deemed part of the body of the county until the Statute 27 Henry VIII, cap. 26, when the member lordships were incorporated with the county, losing their special jurisdictions and privileges, and being practically reduced to the position of manors.

Mr. G. T. Clark, in his *Glamorgan Genealogies*, p. 356, states that John Basset, of Llantrithyd, commonly known as John Thomas Basset, purchased the manor of Talyvan from Henry VIII in 1545, and this is probably correct, though Rice Lewis, who wrote an account of Glamorgan, 1596-1600 (not printed), says he bought it of King Edward VI. The forest was not included in his purchase.

Talyvan was settled by Basset on his daughter Elizabeth, who married Anthony Mansel, a son of Sir Rice Mansel of Margam. Their elder daughter and co-heir Mary married Thomas Aubrey, and by this marriage Talyvan came to the Aubrey family.

LLANTRITHYD.

This, reckoned as half a knight's fee, was one of the ancient Glamorgan manors, granted probably soon after FitzHamon's conquest. It was held early in the twelfth century by a family known as de Cardiff, who may well have been the first holders.

William de Cardiff held it in 1262, in 1307 Paulinus de Cardiff, in 1315 and 1317 Juetta, widow of William de Cardiff. In 1349 it was held by Joanna, widow of John de Hampton. The history seems to be that after the time of Juetta, before mentioned, the property went to another William, whose sole heiress, Joanna, married, first, John de Wynecote, and afterwards John de Hampton, who had died before 1349. Joanna died in 1349 or 1350, leaving two daughters by her first marriage, Juetta, who married Robert Underhill, and Elizabeth (or Margaret), who married John Bawdrip. The Bawdrips had a daughter and heiress Agnes, who married John Basset, and so Llantrithyd came to the Bassets. Various pedigrees are not quite consistent, but this seems the most probable account. In the time of James I, William Basset of Beaupre sold the manor to Sir Thomas Aubrey. In *Glamorgan Genealogies* it is said that Llantrithyd belonged to John Thomas Basset and came to the Aubreys in the same way as Talyvan. But this seems to be clearly incorrect. John Thomas Basset had lands in Llantrithyd, but not the manor, as is proved by statements of contemporary writers, Rice Merrick and Rice Lewis.

PETERSTON-SUPER-ELY.

The Manor of Peterston is not mentioned in the old inquisitions as one of those held directly of the Chief Lord, and there is evidence, referred to below, that it was a sub-manor held under St. Fagans.

Rice Merrick says that he found by the Register of Neath (Abbey) that the Le Sores were Lords of St. Fagans and Peterston.

The Le Sores were very early in Glamorgan, and probably among the original conquerors, the followers of FitzHamon. A document of 1102 (when FitzHamon was living) mentions a Robert le Sore.

A William le Sore held St. Fagans in 1262.* In the inquisition, on death of Gilbert de Clare, 1314, St. Fagans is said to be held by "the heir of Bogo le Veel." Therefore, by that time, St. Fagans had passed from the Le Sore family. The le Veels held it for nearly 200 years till their line ended in an heiress. Yet the le Sores had not died out, for they are mentioned frequently in documents of the fourteenth century as people of position in the County down to a much later date, and they continued to hold Peterston, though not St. Fagans.

Rice Merrick says that Owen Glyndwr took Peterston and beheaded Sir Mayo le Sore, who then held it (temp. Henry IV). There is evidence from inquisitions that at this time the le Veels owned St. Fagans.

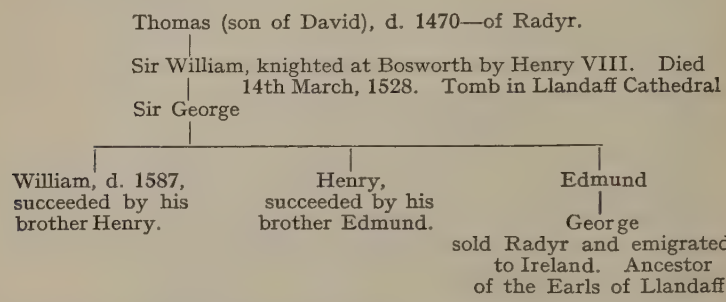
Peterston became vested in some way which has not been traced, as to one moiety of it, in Edward le Despenser, Lord of Glamorgan, who died 1375. This moiety came, with the Lordship of Glamorgan to King Henry VII, and, according to *Glamorgan Genealogies*, was granted by King Henry VIII in 1545 to John Basset, commonly called John Thomas Basset. It was settled upon his daughter Elizabeth to the exclusion of his son Thomas, his heir. Elizabeth married Anthony Mansel, and their daughter Mary married Sir Thomas Aubrey, and thus the Aubrey family obtained a moiety of Peterston.

As to the other moiety, it appears in 1382 to have been held by John Boteler or Butler, because in that year he and Lady le Despenser, widow of Edward le Despenser (who had in dower his share of the manor) presented a clergyman to the church of Peterston. From this fact it would seem that Boteler was then the only person interested in one moiety, but at a later date the Mathew family are found in possession of half of this moiety, or one quarter of the whole. This had occurred before 1459, for in that year what was called the Manor of Peterston (meaning of course the Mathew share of it)

* As shown by the *Extent* on death of Richard de Clare.

was the subject of a deed of settlement, whereby it was granted to John Nevyll, Knight, David Mathew, and Thomas Mathew, son of David, and the male heirs of Thomas.

It descended thus :—


Thomas (son of David), d. 1470—of Radyr.
Sir William, knighted at Bosworth by Henry VIII. Died 14th March, 1528. Tomb in Llandaff Cathedral
Sir George
William, d. 1587, succeeded by his brother Henry.
Henry, succeeded by his brother Edmund.
Edmund
George
sold Radyr and emigrated to Ireland. Ancestor of the Earls of Llandaff.

Leland, writing probably 1535-40, says Boteler and George Matthew were lords of the village. He adds, "Look who is owner of the "Castelle", which he describes as almost in ruin.

The inquisition on the death of George Matthew, 5th April, 1559, states that he held the manor (i.e., his share) of the Lords of St. Fagans. The Matthew share remained in that family until at least 1753, when it is referred to in a Chancery suit between members of that family. What became of it afterwards I do not know.

As to the Boteler share, Ann, heiress of that family, married Sir Richard Vaughan of Bredwardine, and their son Walter became entitled to the Boteler interest. He was living in 1584. Walter Vaughan and William Matthew (son of Sir George) are mentioned as holding Peterston in a document of Elizabeth. Before 2nd November, 1593 (date of his death), Thomas Lewis of the Van had acquired the Vaughan share, no doubt by purchase. It is mentioned as $\frac{1}{4}$ in the inquisition on the death of Thomas Lewis. His son, Sir Edward Lewis, also held it at his death in 1628. I have not ascertained what afterwards happened to this share.

As has been shown, the original share of the Aubrey family was one half of Peterston, but it is possible that they may have afterwards obtained the Lewis and Matthew shares, or one of them. If the Matthew share, the purchase must have been since 1753.

One of the Aubrey rent rolls refers to Peterston and "New Peterston," which looks as if something had been acquired in addition to the original holding. As already mentioned, when a manor was held in shares, it was a frequent practice, instead of dividing the whole of the rents in the appropriate shares, for one of the owners to take the whole rents of some lands, and the other or others the whole rents of other lands.

Gellygarn or Gelligarn.

This manor belonged in the twelfth century to the Allueia or Halweya (afterwards de Hawey) family, who held it under the le Sores, Lords of St. Fagans. As Peterston was also held of them, they were overlords of a large district. Neath Abbey acquired it by exchange from Sanson de Allueia in the time of Henry VI. It remained in the possession of Neath Abbey, paying 13s. 4d. yearly to the Lord of St. Fagans, up to the time of the dissolution of the monasteries under Henry VIII. After this it was sold to Sir Rice Mansel. From him it came to his son, Anthony Mansel, who married Elizabeth, daughter of John Thomas Basset. Their elder daughter, Mary, married Sir Thomas Aubrey and so brought Gelligarn into the Aubrey family. In old documents it is called Kilticar.

The parish of St. Mary Hill is partly in Gelligarn (where the church is) and partly in Lord Bute's manor of Ruthyn. The clergyman is a vicar, and in Gelligarn has the vicarial tithe only, but in the Ruthyn portion of the parish he is, as regards tithe, in the position of a rector.

Carnllwyd.

Sometimes (of course erroneously) called Carnlloyd, is a sub-manor of St. Nicholas, and is situate in the parish and hamlet of Llancarvan*. According to *Glamorgan Genealogies*, Carnllwyd would seem to have been in the hands of a Welsh owner in the fourteenth century, for Lewis Mathew (of the Llandaff family), living *temp*. Richard II, is said to have obtained it by marriage with the daughter and heiress of a Griffith ap Rees. They had a daughter and heiress, Joan, who married John Raglan.

The Raglans were a Llantwit family, but this John Raglan is said to have sold his Llantwit lands. In the sixteenth century, a Sir John Raglan of Carnllwyd married Anne, daughter of Sir William Dennis. of Dyrham, Gloucester. She afterwards married Sir Edward Carne, of Ewenny. She survived him, and in a Survey of the Earl of Pembroke's estates in 1570 it is stated that Lady Anne Carne held Carnllwyd, paying 6s. 11d. per annum to St. Nicholas. Afterwards, her son, Sir Thomas Raglan, sold Carnllwyd to a gentleman who bore the curious name of Sir John Wildgoose, who also acquired various other manors in the district.

A Survey of St. Nicholas in 1591 shows John Wildgoose in possession and paying the 6s. 11d.

Sir Edward Lewis, of the Van, purchased the manor from Wildgoose, as is mentioned in the inquisition on Sir Edward's death, in 1628 ; a younger son of Sir Edward Lewis, Nicholas, had the manor in 1645†. After this Sir John Aubrey, of Llantrithyd, married a Mary Lewis, who had become the heiress of a considerable portion of the Lewis estates, but I do not know that the Aubreys can have obtained Carnllwyd by this marriage. How it came to them I have not been able to ascertain.

* Llancarvan has hamlets, viz., Llancarvan, Liege Castle, Trogyff, Moulton, Llanbethery, Walterston, Llancadle, Penon, Llanvithen.

† According to Mr. Clark's *Genealogies*.

Llancarvan.

A manor of Llancarvan is sometimes referred to, but I rather doubt whether there is a manor of this name distinct from Carnllwyd. In one old grant the "Manor of Carnllwyd and Llancarvan" is mentioned as if one, and it will be remembered that Carnllwyd is in the hamlet of Llancarvan. The matter is not clear.

Liege Castle.

This is the name of a hamlet of Llancarvan, and a sub-manor of Bonvilstone, which is itself a sub-manor of Wenvoe. In the fourteenth century it appears to have been held by the Norris family, but whether under a Bonvil or under the Abbot of Margam, to which Abbey the Bonvils had already granted a large part of their property, is not quite clear. Liege Castle afterwards came into the possession of the Raglans of Carnllwyd.

Its subsequent history is similar to that of Carnllwyd, being purchased by Sir John Wildgoose from Sir Thomas Raglan, and from the former by Sir Edward Lewis, of the Van.

Marcross.

This manor was held from very early times, possibly from the first conquest of Glamorgan, by a family who took their name from the place.

It was one knight's fee, held of the Chief Lord as of his Castle of Cardiff. A Phillip de Marcros was living in the time of Henry II. A daughter and heiress of Phillip de Marcros (perhaps a son of the Phillip before named) is said by Rice Merrick to have married William Pincerna or Butler, son of Simon de Halweya. There was a family named de Halweya

(later Hawey) already mentioned in connection with Gelligarn, some of whose members were called Pincerna, meaning Brittis or Cupbearer, from holding that office, and this name afterwards as Butiler, Boteler, or Butler became the surname of some of them. There is no doubt that in the first half of the thirteenth century this family held Marcros. At the death of Richard de Clare in 1262, Marcros was in his possession, on account of a dispute as to lordship between certain ladies. Joan, daughter of William, son of John le Butiler, had died under age while a ward of de Clare, and the ladies who claimed were on the one hand her aunts, sisters of William, and on the other her great aunt, sister of John, her grandfather. How the matter was settled does not appear, but not long afterwards it is clear that Marcros had passed by marriage of heiresses as to one moiety to David de la Bere, and as to the other to John de Anne, for these were the owners of Marcros when Gilbert de Clare, grandson of Richard, fell at Bannockburn in 1314. The name of de Anne subsequently became Van or Avan. In 1375 John de la Bere had half and Lawrence de Anne half.

A daughter of John de la Bere is said to have married Sir Elias Basset, and carried the de la Bere moiety to the Basset family.

Marcros remained for centuries in the Van and Basset families. This was still the case in the time of Charles II, when the wardsilver of 6s. 8d. paid in respect of the one fee was paid, 3s. 4d. by Sir Richard Basset and 3s. 4d. by John Van.

Sir Richard Basset incurred a heavy liability as surety for Sir Edward Stradling, and had to part with some estates. He possibly may have sold his half of Marcros to the Aubreys, though I know of no evidence of it.

As to the Van share, John Van died 1690-95, having three daughters, Grace, Mary, and Jane. Of the first I know nothing. Mary married a Wyndham. Jane probably married

a Wogan, as a document refers to Wogans as her heirs. Her share was sold in 1729 to Fortescue Broadler, of Neath, who in 1732 sold it to Rees Powell, father of the Rev. Gervase Powell.

The Report of the Welsh Land Commission, Appendix, p. 467, says that Marcros belonged to I. D. Nicholl Carne. If this is correct at all, it will be seen that it can only be so as to some share.

The Aubrey share must have been derived from either the Bassets or the Vans. It seems most likely that they acquired the Basset share.

ST. FAGANS.

The present Castle of St. Fagans is mainly a building of the latter part of the sixteenth century, but occupies the site of an older building. The Manor and Castle belonged first to the le Sores, who were very probably among the followers of FitzHamon. Odo le Sore appears among the witnesses to an agreement between Robert Consul and Bishop Urban of Llandaff, in 1126, and other members of the family occur in early documents. In the earliest known *Extent* of Glamorgan, that of 1262, William le Sor appears as holding St. Fagans, one knight's fee. The manor, which comprises the southern portion of the parish (the northern part being in Miscin), was always held directly of the Chief Lord as of his Castle of Cardiff. A le Sore heiress, temp. Edward I, appears to have married a le Vele, of Portworth, Gloucester, and in the inquisition of 1314, on the death of Gilbert de Clare, "the heir of Bogo le Vele" is named as Lord of St. Fagans.

The possession of St. Fagans by the le Vele family does not appear to have been undisturbed. In 1411, John le Vele had died leaving an infant son, John, then aged three. In I Henry V (1412-1413) the Escheator of Gloucester claimed

allowance for St. Fagans and Lisworney, because " Jevan ap Davy held them with strong hand." Probably this person was a follower of Glyndwr, or had got possession through the Glyndwr rising. (The King was in possession of the revenues of Glamorgan at this time by reason of the wardship of Richard, son of Thomas le Despenser.) Then later, in the I.P.M. of Isabella, Countess of Warwick (sister of Richard le Despenser), who died 1439, it is stated that the Castle and Manor of St. Fagans and Manor of Lisworney belonged " sibi et heredibus suis in perpetuum. Set de quo vel de quibus predicta castrum et maneria tenentur jurati predicta penitus ignorant ". There is probably some error here. The I.P.M. was taken at Gloucester, and none of the Jurors appear to have been Glamorgan men. If the manors mentioned were in the hands of the Countess, it was probably during some minority, and not as her absolute property. It must have been through some temporary state of things, for certainly St. Fagans was not among the manors in the hands of Richard, Earl of Warwick, in I Edward IV. Nor was it in the hands of Jasper Tudor when he held the Glamorgan Lordship.

It remained in the le Vele family until the latter part of the fifteenth century, when Alice, daughter and heiress of Robert le Vele, married David Matthew, of Radyr, who thus obtained St. Fagans. He died 1504, leaving four daughters, his co-heirs, who, or whose descendants, sold the property to Dr. John Gibbon. Prior to this, Leland (c. 1537), speaking of the old Castle, says " a part of it yet standeth ", from which it would appear that it was in ruin in his time. The purchase by Dr. Gibbon was later than 1559 and earlier than 1570. He is reputed to have built the present Castle, at least in part, and certainly sold the property to Nicholas Herbert in 1586. In November, 1601, it was the subject of an agreement for settlement on the marriage of William Herbert, son of Nicholas. Nicholas Herbert died 1603, and William succeeded. William Herbert sold St. Fagans to Sir Edward Lewis, of the Van, near

Caerphilly, in 1616. There is good reason to believe that the object of the sale was to raise money to aid in fitting out the last expedition of Sir Walter Raleigh, in which Herbert certainly took part.

St. Fagans from that time onward remained in the Lewis family, now represented by the Earl of Plymouth, the present owner, to whose ancestors it passed by the marriage, in 1730, of Elizabeth Lewis, only child and heiress of Thomas Lewis, with Other Windsor, Third Earl of Plymouth.

About a mile north-west of the Castle was fought on the 6th May, 1648, the battle of St. Fagans, between a Parliamentary force, under Colonel Horton, and a Welsh army which had risen in favour of the King, under Major-General Laugharne, in which battle the Royalists were defeated with heavy loss.

CHAPTER XII.

CLUN AND PENTYRCH.

Clun is not the name of a parish or of any definite area as now known, whatever may formerly have been the case. The name is that of a small river running into the Ely from the east, somewhat south of Llantrisant.

Pentyrch is an ancient parish, and at one time was a manor held under the Lord of Glamorgan. The whole of Pentyrch and Clun is included, according to the Surveys of the seventeenth century (the oldest in existence giving details of boundaries), within the great Lordship or Manor of Miscin.

When the Norman conquest of Glamorgan took place in the time of William II, there can be no doubt that it was of a very incomplete character. What is known generally as the Vale was subdued, parcelled out into manors, and generally brought very much into the condition as regards tenures, etc., of an English county, but the hill districts, consisting, so far as the eastern portion of the County is concerned, of the great Lordships of Senghenydd, Miscin, and Glynrhondda, remained in Welsh hands, the Lords of Miscin and Glynrhondda being descendants of Jestyn ap Gwrgan, the last Welsh ruler of Glamorgan. The Lords of Cardiff claimed, no doubt, some sort of overlordship, but there is no indication that these hill lordships were the subject of feudal tenure, and ordinarily it seems probable that their dependence on the Chief Lord was almost nominal. As regards Miscin, however, this state of things had come to an end before the earliest known *Extent* (that of c. 1262), for Richard de Clare appears to have expelled Howel ap Meredith, the last Welsh Lord, and presumably assumed direct control of the whole of Miscin about 1245-1247.

The *Brut y Tywysogion* (Rolls edit p. 333, under date 1246), mentions Howel, son of Maredudd of Glamorgan, as having been " entirely dispossessed by the Earl of Clare." It seems possible, however, that Clun and Pentyrch may have been taken at an earlier date and that the authority of Howel, even before he was " entirely dispossessed," did not extend to them.

Coming to the *Extent* of 1262, Clun is not mentioned by name, though in what is called *Extenta de Lantrissen* (*Cartae* II, p. 659) it is tolerably clear that the returns from lands forming later, and perhaps at that time, parts of what was called the Manor of Clun are included.

As to Pentyrch it had, prior to 1262, been granted out as a manor holden of the Chief Lord, for the *Extent* has :—

> " Henr de Sulye tenet qrt in Pentirech & . . . . pacis valuit XLs." Probably the missing word was " tempore ".

This de Sully holding in Pentyrch must soon have come to an end, for there is no further trace of it, and in subsequent documents Pentyrch is found in the hands of the Chief Lord.

Clun (and also Pentyrch and Radyr) must either have formed an encroachment or conquest made from Miscin before the final annexation of the whole of that territory, or else, if the Chief Lord did not obtain it until he had all Miscin, it must have been a manor constituted simply for administrative purposes. It may be mentioned that in 1262 Welshmen still held Glynrhondda and Senghenydd, owing no service but a heriot at death.

The inquisition taken in 1296, on the death of Gilbert de Clare, son of Richard, has an *Extent* of Miscin, but no mention of Pentyrch or Clun, or even Llantrisant. The inquisition as to Miscin was made at St. Fagans, and it may be that Llantrisant was temporarily valueless on account of the then late Welsh rising, or it may have been in the hands of the King, who, interposing in person to put down the rebellion, took some of de Clare's lands into his hands for a time.

The inquisition of 1307, on the death of the Countess Joan, states that Earl Gilbert and Joan his wife, jointly enfeoffed, held the Castle and town of Llantrisant with the members, namely the whole land of Myskin . . . . with the Manor of Clun (then follows in the Bute Estate office copy " & pte tenenef in Sco Fagano," which would seem to mean " part of the tenants of St. Fagans," an odd expression).* Here the Manor of Clun is mentioned for the first time.

The first item of values, £12 7s. 9d., is made up of the demesnes of Llantrisant and the Manor of Clun, with the profits of the wood, forest, mills, and fishery, but no perquisites of court, so that, so far as this inquisition goes, there is nothing to indicate a separate court for Clun.

Then follow particulars of the town of Llantrisant, burgage rents, prisage of ale markets, etc., and perquisites of the hundred court 20s., the whole being £10 2s. 6½d.

Then comes Miskyn £48 3s. 6½d., of which no doubt a large part consisted of " perquisites of court,"† though the amount of these is blank. Glynrotheni is then inserted.

This is followed by a statement that at Trewerne (which is in St. Fagans), there are two free tenants who hold divers tenements and render 3s. 2d. per annum. Also 7 customary tenants holding 24 acres of meadow and pasture, and 15 customary tenants holding 115 acres, 3 roods. Trewerne is new customary land held of the Manor of Pentyrch and Clun.

At Argoydwlad‡ (a place not identified) there are two customary tenants who hold one messuage and 6 acres of land, and these two ought to reap with one man, the Lord finding food, while the Lord has oats to be reaped at Clun.

There are also 54 customary tenants who hold divers tenements " in villenagis," but it mentions no services by

* There are many passages wanting in the office copy.

† These always were heavy in the Welsh Lordships.

‡ The name would seem to mean a district surrounded by wood.

these, though there probably were such, as shown by moneys received in lieu of works in later accounts. Most likely these holdings afterwards came into the Lord's hands.

At St. Fagans there are certain free tenants, no others being mentioned, and the document proceeds to say that the pleas and perquisites of all the aforesaid tenants, except the tenants of the town of Llantrisant, are worth £14. What tenants are meant to be included it is difficult to be sure, for at first sight it seems hardly likely that the Glynrhondda tenants would have attended the same Court as those of Clun, and yet probably it was so, as without them the amount of £14 is not easy to acount for.

The Inquisition has been dealt with in some detail because in it there seem to be some indications that the " Manor " of Clun was a sort of administrative entity, in the sense that the profits accounted for did not arise within a definite geographical area called by that name, but were for convenience collected by the " Reeve " of Clun rather than by the " Bedell " of Miscin.

There is no mention of Pentyrch in the Inquisition, and there are various signs that it was not carried out with any great care.

The next inquisition is that of 1314 on the death of Gilbert de Clare, slain at Bannockburn. In this the details are more carefully given, and to show how Clun was mixed up with Miscin it is worth while to give a translation of the whole passage dealing with Miscin, Glynrhondda, Clun, Pentyrch, and Radyr, the last here mentioned for the first time.

This is as follows :—

> . . . at Llantrissant is a certain castle which is worth nothing beyond reprise. And there are certain Burgesses who hold 187 burgages with certain plots,

	£	s.	d.
within the aforesaid town, and render yearly £9 15s., namely at the four terms in equal portions.			
And there are in the same town 29 waste burgages, and the pasture is worth yearly		5	0
And there are 16 acres and a half of land let to Burgesses at the will of the Lord, and they render therefor yearly at the feast of the blessed Michael		2	9
And there are there five plots of land, and they render yearly at the same term ..		3	0
And there is a certain prise of ale, which is worth yearly 20s. to wit for every crannock of best malt brewed for sale 1d. ..		20	0
Likewise the toll of the market and fair on the day of Saint Peter Advincula, with the toll of the County of Miscin and Glynrhondda, with the cense, are worth yearly		20	0
The pleas and perquisites of the hundred of the town, with the pleas of the fair, are worth yearly		26	8
Sum of the value of the town aforesaid ..	13	12	5
Likewise they say that at Clun is a certain messuage whose easement is worth yearly		2	0
And there are there on demesne 150 acres of land, and they are worth yearly, price of the acre 3d.		37	6
And there are there 31 acres and a half of meadow which is worth yearly, for an acre 10d.		26	3

	£	s.	d.
And there are there divers pastures, as well of the waste as escheated, in the mountains of Miscin and Glynrhondda, and they are worth yearly	6	13	4
And there is there a certain pasture at Rhigos, and it is let to farm yearly for	100	0	
And there are there certain free tenants who hold divers tenements, and render therefor yearly, namely at the feast of Saint Hilary, the feast of the Apostles Peter and Paul, and the feast of the blessed Michael	23	10	7¼
And there are there 22 Welsh customary tenants who hold divers tenements in villeinage, and render yearly 17s. 3½d., whereof the feast of Saint Andrew 4s. 10d., and at the feast of the blessed Michael 12s. 5½d.	17		3½
And there are there 56 customary tenants who hold divers tenements in villeinage, and render therefor yearly 64s. 2d., whereof at the feast of Saint Hilary 20s. 0½d., at the feast of the Apostles Peter and Paul 20½d., and at the feast of the blessed Michael 24s. 1d.	64		2
And of the aforesaid tenants there are certain as well free as customary, and render in every alternate year of the aid which is called Commorth, at Hockday	64		9
And also the aforesaid customary tenants ought to reap the oats of the Lord at Clun, so much as he may have sown there in his demesnes, the Lord finding food, and those works are worth by			

	£	s.	d.
estimation 6s. 8d.,* and if nothing shall have been sown they shall not give nor do anything for the work		6	8
They say also that the pasture and pannage of the forest of Glyntaff and the wood of Haywode, with the underwood, are worth yearly		20	0
And there is a certain fishery in the water of Taff, and it is worth yearly		26	8
And there are in Miscin four water mills which are worth yearly	20	0	0
And there is there one fulling mill which is worth yearly		53	4
And in Glynrhondda there is one water mill, and it is worth yearly		20	0
And there are there certain persons, not holders of land, who render yearly for having avowry		13	4
The pleas and perquisites with the heriots and †blood fines, are worth yearly ..	40	0	0
Sum £109 11s. 1¾d., in one year, and in every alternate year £112 15s. 10¾d., for the rent of Commorth, which is rendered in every alternate year. And so the sum on the average of years, the said rent of Commorth being equally apportioned to every year, is	111	3	6¼
Likewise they say that at Pentyrch there are 20 acres of land and pasture which are worth yearly, price of the acre 4d. ..		6	8

* This seems an important local custom in the interests of the tenants, for it appears that elsewhere the right of the Lord to payment in lieu of work attached whether he had work to be done or not.

† "Averia Sanguinis"; this may mean not "blood fines," but deodands.

	£	s.	d.
And there are there certain free tenants who hold divers tenements, who render yearly at the feast of the blessed Michael		12	10
And there are there certain Welsh customary tenants and cottagers who hold divers tenements, and render yearly at the same term		32	0½
And there is there a certain water mill, and it is worth yearly		40	0
And the aforesaid customary tenants owe a certain gift against Christmas, and they are worth		3	0
Likewise they owe certain Autumn works, and the works are worth		4	0
The pleas and perquisites are worth yearly ..		10	0
Sum ..		118	6½
The aforesaid jurors say also that at Radyr there is a certain house, the easements of which are worth yearly			12
And there are there in demesne 68 acres and a third part of an acre of arable land which are worth yearly, price of the acre 4d.		22	9¼
And there are there 3 acres of meadow which are worth yearly 4s., and 1 acre and a half of pasture, and it is worth yearly 6d.		4	6
Likewise there are there 10 customary tenants who hold 52 acres of land, and render yearly 13s., namely at the feast of Saint Andrew 4s. 6d., and at the feast of the blessed Michael 8s. 6d.		13	0
And there are there two cottars who render at the feast of the blessed Michael ..			12
And the aforesaid customary tenants owe 8 works of ploughing, and they are worth			8

	£	s.	d.
And they ought to gather the hay of three acres of meadow, and the works are worth			6
Likewise the same customary tenants owe 16 Autumn works of reaping, and they are worth			16
The pleas and perquisites, fines and heriots, and other profits which cannot be extended, are worth yearly		6	0
Sum ..		50	9¼
Sum of the whole country of Miscin and Glynrhondda with other particulars, £131 12s. 10½d. in one year, and in every alternate year £134 17s. 7½d. And so the sum on the average of years, the said rent of Commorth being equally apportioned, is	133	5	3

From this it will be seen that it is impossible to be sure what particular properties were considered to be in Clun and what in Miscin as distinguished from Clun, even if in fact any definite and fixed notions existed on the subject.

What, in earlier times, the exact status of Radyr had been it is difficult to say, though from its position it must surely have been, if not in the direct possession, at least under the control, of the Chief Lord at least as early as Pentyrch. It seems possible that it may have been in friendly Welsh hands, and for that reason not mentioned.

The account of John Giffard, Custodian of the County after the death of de Clare for about half a year, is printed *Cartae* III, p. 842. The heads with which we are concerned are :—Town of Llantrissan with Castle.

Manor of Cloune with Rugois.

Pentirgh.

Radur.

Here practically all the general receipts of the district except Pentyrch and Radyr are accounted for under the second head. No Reeve of Clun is mentioned, but a Bedell of Miscin and Reeve of Pentyrch occur. Rents of free and customary tenants are mentioned both under Clun and Pentyrch, and under the latter is an item of payment in respect of works of customary tenants. Nothing of this sort occurs under Clun.

We then come to the Writ to the Escheator to deliver to Hugh le Despenser his wife's share of Gilbert de Clare's lands printed in *Cartae* Vol. III, p. 1048, etc. Here, at p. 1050, we have

	£	s.	d.
Castrum et villa de Llantrissan cum patria de Glynrotheny cum pertinentiis ..	72	12	10¼
Manerium de Clonne cum patria de Meskyn cum pertinentiis	210	9	5
Hamelettum de Pentyrgh cum pertinentiis	7	4	6¾
Manerium de Radur cum pertinentiis ..	2	10	0

The following list occurs in a document, *Cartae* IV, p. 1450, relating to properties forming the dower of Constance, widow of Thomas le Despenser :—

Glamorg. Castrum et villam de Llantrussan cum dominio de Meskin et Glynretheny.

Manerium de Clonne cum hamelettis de *Combreheynok, Pentirgh et Radur.

Here both Pentyrch and Radyr are called "hamlets". No great care seems to have been taken as to words used.

There are also inquisitions on the deaths of Hugh le Despenser and Edward le Despenser, but they do not throw any further light upon the matter of Pentyrch and Clun.

That of Edward le Despenser (1375) is worth mentioning for the reason that in the greater Lordships Miscin, Senghenydd,

* A name which has disappeared.

Neath and Talyvan, a new officer seems to have been appointed, viz., a Receiver of the Forest (whose returns appear in a later Minister's Accounts).

The wording is curious. As to Miscin it is :—

> Meyskyn Receptor. Item dicunt quod predictus defunctus tenuit infra dominium predictum apud Meyskyn receptor diversas terras et tenementa quorum exitus proficua valent per annum ultra reprisas per estimacionem IX li. XIs. VIII d.

The Senghenydd statement is that he held :—

> apud Seyngh Receptor quoddam parvum dominium cujus redditus, etc.

This inquisition differs from the earlier ones in that, instead of several inquests held in the different lordships, there was one inquisition only, at Cardiff, by a jury of twenty-six of mixed English and Welsh names, probably brought together from various parts of the county.

The next document which it seems worth while just to mention is a list of arrears due to Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick, at Easter 1 Edw. IV (1461). There occur in this :—

		£	s.	d.
Miskyn Bedellary Due by Bedell		20	2	4½
Miskyn Forest Due by Receiver		1	6	8
Glynrotheny Due by Bedell (a different man from the Miscin Bedell)		2	10	0
Lantrussan Due by Reeve (or rather Portreeve)..		4	12	9½
Further on in the account				
Pentirgh Due by Reeve		2	0	4
Clonne	Due by farmer of fisheries of Taaf and Rotheney	1	7	4
	By farmer of Corn Mill of Velinvaure	1	0	0
	By Reeve	1	11	11

The names of the officers are given but omitted here for brevity.

The next document to be mentioned is a series of Ministers' Accounts of the officers of Jasper, Duke of Bedford, for 1491-92. Among these are accounts by the Bedell of Miskyn, the Forester of Miskyn Forest, the Portreeve of Llantrussan, and separate accounts by the Reeves of Radure, Clonne, and Pentirgh.

Perquisites of Court are mentioned with respect to each of these three last, but nothing was received for either Radyr or Pentyrch, for in each case it is said no Court had been held. For Clun two Courts had been held, the amount received being 8s. 3d. Here there are some items showing how Clun was, as it were, mixed up with Miscin. For instance, the sum of 2s. is accounted for in respect of some land come into the Lord's hands by escheat and let for that amount, beyond the old rent of 14d., which before was in the charge of the Bedell of Meskyn.

There are two other instances of the same sort. The farm of all the mills, apparently whether in Miscin, Glynrhondda, or Pentyrch, is dealt with in the account of the Reeve of Clun. The mill of Aberdare, but no other, is mentioned also in the Miscin account. Nothing was received, because it was ruinous.

The mill of Ystradyfodwg (in Glynrhondda) is among those in the Clun account. In the Pentyrch account there is 6s. 6d. arising from the "sale of works" of "native" (the only indication of villein) tenants, though rents paid by them may be included among "rents of assise."

In the Miscin account there is a notice of the fisheries, it being stated that they are not answered for there, because they are charged in the Clun account (as is the case), but the fact of their being mentioned indicates that there had been a time when they were in the Miscin account. It seems impossible now to ascertain why certain items appeared under Miscin and others under Clun, but it is evident that the duties of the Reeve of Clun were not confined to any defined area.

The next document containing particulars of the manors is a Survey of Henry, Earl of Pembroke, made in 1570. That for Miscin was made at Llantrisant, 20th September. This contains the following heads :—

	Total £ s. d.
Freeholders in Aberdare, Llanwonno, Lanetwyde in the fee of Myskyn (Llantwit Fardre), St. Phagonns, Llannuson, Llantrussan, and then Lantwythe in Mysken again (without any apparent reason for the Llantwit entries being divided), Radyr, Penterght.	15 13 8½

Then follow " Rents of Customary and native tenants " in :—

	£ s. d.
Llantwitt, St. Phagons, and Llantrissan	1 16 9

Then comes a list of demesne lands let, mostly in Miscin proper, but one parcel stated to be in the Lordship of Pentergh, and others in St. Fagans, Llantwit Fardre, Llanwensan, and Pentyrch parishes.

The " farm of the mills " is also included, one of which was in Pentyrch.

Coed Merchan is also included.

On the same day, but before a different jury, a Survey of Pentirgh and Clonne was made. The items consist of :—

	£ s. d.
Freeholders in Pentergh (two only) ..	0 1 8
Tenants by the rod	1 14 7
	£1 16 3

Demesne lands. Various rents.
Sum total of the said Manor £4 3s. 11½d.
(meaning, it would seem, Pentyrch).

Then follows :—

Clonne—to wit.

This is followed by a statement of various lettings of demesne lands.

The documents above referred to, besides showing that Clun and Pentyrch were included in Miscin geographically (as to which there can be no doubt), indicate that in the time of Queen Elizabeth there was no very clear distinction between lands held as of Miscin and those held of Clun or Pentirch, or to use the modern expression (which seems even then to have been sometimes used) " Pentirch and Clun ".

It appears now impossible to say why in 1570 the rents of some customary and native tenants in Llantwit, St. Fagans, and Llantrisant should come under Miscin while others come under Pentyrch, while demesne lands alone occur under Clun.

Radyr.

This was called a " manor " in the time of David Matthew and earlier, but was in the hands of the Chief Lord. It may have been farmed by David Matthew's father, as *Glamorgan Genealogies*, p. 10, would lead us to suppose, but David's own interest was of the following nature. By letters patent, 29th April, 1503, Radyr was leased to David Matthew for 99 years from Michaelmas, 1501, at a rent of £4 14s. 4½d. He therefore, was not owner in fee but had a leasehold interest only. Much later, the Matthew family acquired the house of Radyr and all or most of the demesne lands, but not the manor, and for upwards of 300 years Radyr has been treated as part of the Lordship of Miscin, of which, doubtless, it originally formed part. It is interesting to note that in Glamorgan some

" manors " took their rise in a state of things different to that which applies to manors generally, which were usually the subject of grants by the King, or, as to mesne manors, by some lord.

In Glamorgan the lords constituted of parts of their lordship manors for administrative purposes which ordinarily they held in their own hands. In some cases these are at the present day recognised as separate manors. In other cases, as Radyr, they have merged in the large lordships out of which they were taken.

CHAPTER XIII.

CILYBEBYLL.

The earliest mention I know of this place (other than certain references to its church as appropriated to Neath Abbey at the time of the foundation of that monastery) is contained in the deed of exchange dated 13th April, 1289, between the Abbey of Neath and Gilbert de Clare. The Neath territories lay mainly between the rivers Neath and Tawe and extended from the sea to Brecknockshire. The whole had been granted to the Abbey of Neath on or soon after its foundation by Richard de Granville, but in fact the Abbey can have had but little effective control over the northern portion, consisting of a wild mountainous country in the hands of the native Welsh, and if the monks really enjoyed any rights of pasturage there it must practically have been on sufferance. It is possible that they may at an early date have obtained more settled possession of Cilybebyll, and this may have led to its being mentioned as if to some extent distinct from the general Lordship of Neath, and being treated separately for some administrative purposes, having a reeve of its own, though not a separate court. The exchange above referred to was no doubt in pursuance of the settled policy, commenced by Richard de Clare about the middle of the thirteenth century, of getting the whole of the hill lordships into the direct control of the Chief Lords. This policy was continued and nearly completed by Richard's son, Gilbert. In exchange for £100 per annum, charged upon the rents of certain towns and manors, the Abbot and convent made over to de Clare the whole of the Neath Lordship except what was afterwards known as the Manor of Cadoxton juxta Neath. There were also excepted certain fishery rights, amongst them the Abbot's share of the weir of

" Kithlibavil," which, no doubt, means Cilybebyll. The Abbot's share refers to the fact that the Tawe was here the boundary, so that the Abbot could only claim half the river.

The Inquisition on the death of this de Clare does not mention Cilybebyll by name. It was doubtless included under Neath.

His widow, the Countess Joan, daughter of King Edward I, had the estates for her life, and on her death in 1306 another Inquisition was taken which speaks of " the Castle and Town of Neath with the hamlets Kilthebebilth and Bruttone (Briton Ferry). As to Cilybebyll it mentions 60 acres in demesne worth 2d. per acre. Rent of assise (chief rents) of certain Welsh tenants, 26s. 8d. Three water mills, worth 20s. per annum, and a wood, worth 2s. per annum.

In 1314, on the death of Gilbert, son of Gilbert and Joan, slain at Bannockburn, the Inquisition refers to the Welsh tenants as paying 33s. 3d. and adds that the same tenants hold certain lands at will and render for them 19s. 4d. Other tenants for lands formerly of Morgan Vauchan pay 13s. The water mills are worth £6 13s. 4d. Whether these differences represent actual changes or whether the earlier Inquisition was more carelessly prepared is uncertain. Immediately after this, and pending the division of de Clare's estates between his three sisters, his coheiresses, various custodians were in charge on behalf of the King. The rising of Llewelyn Bren (and perhaps other disturbances) took place. An account of John Giffard, one of the custodians from 20th April to 29th September, 1316, thus refers to Cilybebyll. He accounts for 38s. 6d. for rent of assise and no more because tenants who used to render 19s. 4¼d. were slain in the last war and their holdings lie waste. For the 3 mills nothing, because they were destroyed in the war.

The Inquisition on the death of Hugh le Despenser, 1350, states that he held the manor of Neath with two hamlets, Kilthibebilth and Brittone and that in Cilybebyll there were 43 Welsh tenants who paid £4 0s. 1d.

It is hardly worth while to refer to the later Inquisitions, for they were not taken locally nor with the same care as to details as the earlier ones.

In an account of 1461, of arrears due to Richard Nevill, Earl of Warwick, from his various officers, the Reeve of Kilthibibelth is mentioned as owing 45s. 5½d.

An account of 1492, in the time of Jasper, Duke of Bedford, shows the following items relating to Cilybebyll :—Rent of assise, 33s. 2¾d., Rents at will, 33s. 5d., and certain other rents, 13s. 4d. These were the full rents which ought to have been paid, but allowances in respect of rents not received for various reasons reduced the amount to £2 5s. 4¼d.

On the death of Jasper Tudor, Neath, with the rest of Glamorgan Lordships, reverted to King Henry VII, and remained in the hands of successive sovereigns until it was sold by Queen Elizabeth in the second year of her reign to William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, who had previously acquired nearly all the rest of the manors pertaining to the old Lordship of Glamorgan, mainly from King Edward VI. Cilybebyll is called in the grant of Elizabeth " all that our parcel of land called Kyllibebeyth." It is not called a " manor."

In 1570, Henry, second Earl of Pembroke, on succeeding his father, had a survey made of his Glamorgan estates. Here Neath Ultra and Cilybebyll are brought under one heading, though their values are separately shown.

The freehold rents of Cilybebyll amount to 7s. 10½d., and the customary to 13s. 6d. Neath Ultra and Cilybebyll together are worth £19 13s. 7½d.

As regards Cilybebyll, this is such a falling off from what appears in the older accounts (notwithstanding the more settled state of the country) that it looks as if less was treated as belonging to Cilybebyll than had formerly been the case, unless indeed some part may have been sold.

Neath and Cilybebyll remained in the possession of the Earls of Pembroke until, on the death of Philip, seventh Earl, in 1683, the property passed to his daughter, Charlotte, who married, first, John, Lord Jeffreys, and, secondly, Thomas, Viscount Windsor. This lady and her husband sold to Sir Humphrey Mackworth, 2nd December, 1715, the manors of Neath, Neath Ultra, and Cilybebyll, and various others in the western part of the county. The advowson of Neath was excepted.

Though the advowson of the church of Neath was included in Queen Elizabeth's grant, that of Cilybebyll was not, and remained in the Crown in 1835.

What the dealings with Cilybebyll have been since the conveyance to Mackworth I do not know.

From the above, I do not think Cilybebyll was or is a distinct manor, but part of the Manor of Neath Ultra.

CHAPTER XIV.

HOLMES ISLANDS.

One of them the Echni of *Liber Landavensis.*

That the island anciently known as Echni was one of the Holmes seems to admit of no doubt. One direct authority is the legend about St. Cadoc or Cattwg in Rees' *Lives of Cambro-British Saints*, which speaks of " the Island of Echni, which is now called Holm ". This life of St. Cadoc is taken from MSS. Vespasian XIV, p. 17, collated with Titus D XXII, p. 51. In the course of it there are several other references to the island where St. Cadoc is said to have dwelt for parts of each year. The Island of Barreu (Barry) is also mentioned.

The name Echni occurs also in *Liber Landavensis*. At p. 135 the boundaries of the Diocese are set out in old Welsh, the translation, at p. 368, containing the following :—" along the Wye till it falls into the Severn, along the Severn by the Island of Echni as far as the estuary of the Towey ". The Holmes are the only islands which a line drawn along the Severn would pass, the line being probably intended for mid-stream. It is uncertain which of the two Holmes is meant, but the Flat Holme is the island which such a line would include.

At p. 138 (in the *Life of St. Oudoceus*), speaking of Gildas, it says : " who at that time frequented the Island of Echni, leading the life of an anchorite ". At p. 142 King Teudiric, having been mortally wounded in battle against the Saxons, is made to say to his son Mouric : " I am unwilling to depart hence until my Lord Jesus Christ shall bear me to the place of my desire, where I have appointed to lie after my death,

namely, in the Island of Echni ". It is not, of course, necessary to credit the details of the various legends, or to decide to what degree of authority the *Liber Landavensis* is entitled. At the very least it proves that early in the twelfth century the Island of Echni was regarded as being from of old a place of sanctity, and a desirable place of burial. Whether in fact King Teudiric considered it so or not, at any rate the scribe of *Liber Landavensis* thought he would be likely to do so.

According to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, some heathens (Danes or Norsemen) plundered up the Severn in 918, and in Erchenfeld (in Herefordshire) took prisoner Cameleac, Bishop of Llandaff, who was afterwards ransomed by King Edward. In subsequent attacks upon Watchet and Porlock they were repulsed with loss, and in fact it is said that only those escaped who could swim to their ships. Then they went to an island called " Bradan Relice " or " Reolice ", in some versions " Steapan Relice ". This discrepancy is interesting, as it shows that there were two islands, which helps to prove that they could be no other than the Flat and Steep Holmes. Whichever island they went to, the *Chronicle* says they remained till some died of hunger, and then the rest went to South Wales.

The importance of this incident lies in the island " Relice " or " Reolice ". In McClure's learned work *British Place-names in their historical setting* (p. 266 note), it is said that " Relice " contains the Irish adaptation of the Latin " reliquice," i.e., " Relig ", this Irish word meaning a graveyard. This obviously tends to confirm the Welsh legends as to Echni being considered a desirable place of burial. It seems curious that to the writers of the *Saxon Chronicle* the island (perhaps both islands) should be known by a name derived from an Irish source. Doubtless even then the Northmen, whose term has survived, knew them as " Holmes," which is not a name at all, but means simply " island."

The term " Relice " was still used by the Saxon chroniclers at the time of the Norman conquest, for it is said that, after the Battle of Hastings, *Gytha, the mother of Harold, took refuge in the island of Bradan Relice (the Flat Holme) with other honourable women. They remained there till they could escape to the continent. I have read somewhere that the island was her property, but do not remember the authority.

It cannot be regarded as quite certain whether the Flat Home or the Steep Home was the Echni of the old writers. One or other certainly was. Investigations on the spot might throw light upon the matter. It is likely some such evidence would be found as the late Mr Storrie discovered on Barry Island.

In Owen Pugh's Welsh Dictionary " Echno " is said to mean " steep islands " (Ynysoedd serth), the authority quoted being Bardd Glas Morganwg. About this it would seem there must be some mistake. In *Liber Landavensis* and the *Life of St. Cadoc* the name is distinctly used in the singular, as being that of one island. How such a word as Echni could mean " steep islands " it is not easy to see.

* In the *Political History of England* she is said to have been at Exeter.

CHAPTER XV.

ARMS ASCRIBED TO JESTYN AP GWRGAN.

These arms, gules, three chevrons argent, are borne by various families claiming descent from Jestyn, and were no doubt borne by the family known as de Avene, Lords of Avan. As a matter of fact, it is likely that this family adopted, with a difference, the de Clare Arms, and that it was from them (the Lords of Avan) and not from their ancestor Jestyn (who lived before the time of coat armour) that various Glamorgan families derive the arms.

The de Clare arms bore three chevrons; the correct blazon seems to have been :—or, three chevrons gules.

Long before the family were connected with Glamorgan, Gilbert, Earl of Clare, used a seal bearing the chevrons (Round Feudal England, p. 471). This was 1138-1148, and Mr. Round considers that this is an earlier instance of coat-armour on a seal than any hitherto known. This seems to be fatal to the notion of Jestyn having borne these arms. Rice Merrick, p. 8, ascribes the arms to Jestyn and adds that his crest was " the Holy Lamb " and supporters. It was not till long afterwards that crests connected with coats of arms were used, and supporters not till the 15th century. Extant seals of Morgan ap Caradoc, grandson of Jestyn, 12th century, show no arms (*Margam Abbey*—Dr. Birch). Dr. Birch (*Neath Abbey*, p. 69) describes seals appended to an agreement of 1246 :—Morgan ap Owen (of the Avan family), a fleur de Lys—Richard de Clare, the Clare arms on a shield suspended by a strap from a tree, between two lions.

The Avan or Avene family sealed with various devices (not arms) up to at least Leisan ap Morgan Cam, 1246 (circa). As to Morgan Vachan his brother, who succeeded, there seems no information, but it was probably his son Leisan ap Morgan Vachan who first adopted arms. Foster's *Some Feudal Coats of Arms* says he bore "gules, three chevrons argent" and refers to Parl. Roll Edward II.

The Lamb and Flag crest seems first mentioned on a seal of John de Avene 1330, but may have been used by Leisan, his father.

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